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His Majesty the King of Nepal,
TRIBHUBANA BIR VIKRAM SAH.

NEPAL

BY

PERCEVAL LONDON

*"The country is wild and mountainous,
and is little frequented by strangers,
whose visits the King discourages."*

MARCO POLO, iii, 8.

VOL. I

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

LONDON
CONSTABLE AND CO. LTD.

1928

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PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN.
CHISWICK PRESS, CHARLES WHITTINGHAM AND GRIGGS (PRINTERS), LTD.
100KS COURT, CHANCERY LANE, LONDON.

PREFACE

NEPAL remains, at the beginning of this second quarter of the twentieth century, an independent kingdom, full of antiquities and relics of the past, dowered with wealth from mine and forest, peopled from both the northern and the southern civilizations of Asia—remains, too, the last survivor of those Indian communities who stood for civilization, learning, and culture when Europe was still in the darkest period of its history. She alone among Asiatic Powers has never suffered either the galling triumph of the Moslem or the political and commercial results of Christian expansion.)

It would be difficult to say which aspect of Nepal is that by which she is best known to the world at large. To one the total exclusion of foreigners—except within the most straitened territorial limits and after the deepest consideration of the claim of each candidate for admission—may in itself be the spur of his interest; to another, the sense that in Nepal alone still exists the India of the seventh and eighth centuries, dowered indeed with the inventions of the West, but free from the influence of its strenuous faiths; to another the strange blending in her shrines of the worship of Buddhism and Hinduism without clash or conscious inconsistency; to a fourth the charm may lie in the magnificence of her scenery and the crowning glories of the Himalayas, Api, Dhaulagiri, and her sister peak across the Black Gandak, the humped massif of unconquered Everest, and, last of all, the incredible splendour of Kangchañjanga, looking down upon our own hill-station of Darjiling. Katmandu is a name to conjure with—it has a restless magic in its very syllables. To the naturalist and the hunter Nepal offers a virgin field of research and the greatest of all big game shooting. To others the art and architecture of this jealously guarded kingdom may appeal. But to most—to those teeming hundreds of millions of Buddhists in all lands—that quiet thicket of rising ground where the Emperor Asoka set up for ever his pillar to witness that there the Blessed One was born.

One by one the homes of mystery have given their keys into the hands of the adventurer and the explorer. There are indeed remaining a score of

towns, some of them little known, some quite unknown. Balkh and Rudok still shut their gates against the European. Riadh and Hail have seldom been seen by eyes of lighter colour than those of Ibn Sand. Mecca and Medina are still denied to the non-Moslem visitor. But these are towns. The countries in which they are centres have been again and again traversed by Western strangers, unwelcome though they may have been. Of all the closed lands of this world—closed by the deliberate will and policy of those who live in them; closed whether from pity, superstition, jealousy, or perhaps above all from mistrust of the European—Nepal is the only survivor. The little Valley of Katmandu, some twelve miles by twelve, and the arduous track that leads up to it from the plains of India are indeed known to some six score Englishmen and to as many other Europeans as one may count on the fingers of two hands. The rest of Nepal—a great State five hundred miles in length and a hundred miles broad—is to this day as completely closed to Western observation and research as when the Emperor Asoka in 250 B.C. set up the five great stupas of Patan.

Nor is its history much better known. In the earlier days, above the tangle of fact and fiction that serves Nepal as her official Chronicle, some outstanding point is here and there recognized and certified by a ray of light from the history of an adjoining State. And even when, in later days, fact in some measure replaces the large fiction of antiquity, there is little presented to the reader but the picture of an ensanguined *mêlée* that scarcely prepares him for the recent and rapid advancement of Nepal among the sovereign States of the world. The story of that progress has never yet been told. Even during the last seventy years when attention has been more drawn to this mountain kingdom, the things omitted from the tale have been larger and more important than the things recorded. The reason for this deficiency is clear to anyone who knows Indian official life. The moment of excitement, the moment of compelling interest, the moment which elucidates a past decade or settles a policy for the next half-century, has been known only to two or three Englishmen, and it has been beyond their privilege to relate. One has only to read the pages of that most excellent of Nepalese historians, Dr. Oldfield, to realize that the censorship of the Indian Government lay heavy upon his pen exactly at those moments when the policy and the future of Nepal and India were decided.¹

¹ As an illustration of this I may mention that Oldfield omits entirely the story of Jang Bahadur's journey to England, and all reference to the Anglo-Nepalese campaigns of

The habitual prudence of Nepal in allowing her inner history to be known to strangers is long standing. It is enough at this moment to say that the present Maharaja Marshal has so far departed from this tradition that in the fullest possible measure he has supplied me with material for writing of every aspect of modern Nepalese history, and, so far as lay within his power, has helped me to obtain a direct first-hand knowledge of temples, traditions, and policies that have never before received the attention they deserve. That many questions relating to earlier days remain undecided is still unfortunately true, and despite the great labours of that kindest of French savants, M. Sylvain Lévi, the world will have to wait for the thorough examination and collation of the unpublished manuscript treasures of Katmandu before a final chronology and chronicle of Nepalese history can be begun. But the great days of Nepal are before her, not behind her. I have no wish to elaborate the international significance of this keen and united State of mountain soldiers, wholly independent of Indian political life; free from the disintegrating and troublesome rivalries of the India upon which she looks down from her hill fastnesses; in a military sense more highly trained than any other race in Asia; rich with traditions gilded by great and recent glory, and dowered also with an ambition which knows few limits.

But it is not only with a wish to tell the story of Nepal's political situation that these pages have been written. It is not merely the intention of the writer to record the chief architectural and other treasures of Nepal and illustrate them as no one has yet had a chance to do; it is not that some interest must perforce attach itself to this, the first connected account from original sources of the history of Nepal for the last century and a quarter; nor is it wholly in the chance that has been given by the Maharaja to realize unknown Nepal by pictures and by the word of mouth of his own travellers and agents, vitally important as this knowledge seems to be; the hope of the writer has been to present an ordered account of the people as well as the land; of the great reform movements that are now raising

1814-1816. In the latter case he seems to enter a protest by a line of asterisks. His account of the death of Bhim Sen has evidently suffered considerably at the hands of the censor. Very significant also is the complete omission of all incidents dealing with the Tibetan expedition from 7th December 1855 to 1st August 1856. Most noteworthy of all is the fact that, although his book was published in 1880, his narrative of Nepalese history ends abruptly with a description of the march of Jang Bahadur with 11,000 men to the help of the English during the Indian Mutiny. Not a word is added of the military exploits of the Nepalese.

Nepal to what she herself would be the first to admit were English standards. There has also been a desire that at last the English people shall have material for a better understanding of the tie between themselves and that one race on earth which has, with a loyalty and a generosity beyond the power of words to describe, identified itself with our interests and our honour. Free from any treaty, any obligation, any promise, the Gurkha people at once and ungrudgingly sent two hundred thousand of their men to help us in the Great War. It was nothing but the plain truth that a shrewd critic of the war penned when he wrote: "Almost wherever there was a theatre of war Gurkhas were to be found, and everywhere they added to their name for high courage. Gurkhas helped to hold the sodden trenches of France in that first terrible winter and during the succeeding summer. Their graves are thick on the Peninsula, on Sinai, and on the stony hills of Judea. They fell in the forests of Africa and on the plains of Tigris and Euphrates, and even among the wild mountains that border the Caspian Sea. And to those who know, when they see the map of that country of Nepal, there must always recur the thought of what the people of that country have done for us." If this book achieves little else, it may perhaps be a record of an international friendship, spontaneous, continual, and shirking no test of blood or labour, to which a parallel can scarcely be found in the chronicles of the world.

The long story of these mountaineers is one that remains almost unknown to the historians of the world. It has been the task of centuries to weld together this strong and intensely patriotic kingdom, gifted with a military enthusiasm that finds no outlet for its energies except in time of war. Often in the history of the world a race has begun well enough in the long struggle of self-expression and self-vindication. Afterwards, either the desire of gain, or a mistrust of its own strength, or the disloyalty of its leaders has brought its ambitions to the dust. In the case of Nepal it is now—and, so far as prevision can forecast the future, for generations to come it will be—the unflinching determination of all classes, governing and governed alike, to ensure for their mountain kingdom a weight and authority at the Asiatic council board which no one may henceforth leave out of account. Moreover, she is incorruptible. There is no record of any Nepalese official having been in the pay of an enemy.

It is no part of the task of the author to estimate the wisdom or the folly of recent attempts to develop the self-government of India. But if there were no other claim to the attention of Englishmen, the fact that a

grant of complete Home Rule to India would inevitably stir up communal strife from one end of the peninsula to the other, invests Nepal with an importance that it would be foolish to overlook. Englishmen should attempt to understand a little more thoroughly the high position which Nepal holds in the general Southern Asiatic balance, and the great and growing importance that she will possess in the future, in the solution of the problems which beset the present state of India. The place which Nepal occupies in our Eastern affairs is often misunderstood. It has been proved by a score of instances that her great Prime Minister, throughout the long period of his autocracy—for his power is nothing less—has consistently displayed a steady confidence in the Indian Government and an unflinching willingness to help Great Britain to the utmost of his country's means.

As I have had occasion to remark before,¹ there is a tendency among writers upon Central Asiatic questions to ignore their indebtedness to those who have laboured before them in the same field. I therefore take this opportunity of acknowledging in the fullest manner my obligations to those who have gone before: to Brian Houghton Hodgson, one of the greatest labourers in the sphere of Indian research and record that has ever lived; to M. Sylvain Lévi in archaeological matters, to whom my debt is to be traced on a hundred pages; to Dr. Wright and Dr. Oldfield, scholars and surgeons; and to many others, such as Sir William Hunter, Sir Clements Markham, Sir John Shea, Colonel Loch, the Survey Department of India, Dr. Waddell, Sir Charles Bell, Laurence Oliphant, Bendall, Vansittart, Sir F. W. T. O'Connor, Sarat Chandra Das, General Padma Jang Bahadur, Percy Brown, and of course the earlier publications of Kirkpatrick, Hamilton, and Fraser. It would be impossible to record here the names of all those who have in a greater or less degree helped me by their personal knowledge of Nepalese topography, history, or custom, but I wish in an especial measure to note the help that I have received from Miss E. M. Shaw.

But when all is said, the assistance given to me by the present Maharaja Marshal of Nepal has been the help that has made the writing of this book possible. With the utmost generosity he has provided me with material referring to the least known periods of modern Nepalese history; he has afforded me full access to Nepalese archives dealing with such obscure

¹ *Lhasa*, vol. i, p. xi.

questions as the Tibetan wars of 1792 and 1856, with the East India Company's war of 1814-1816, with the part played by Nepal during the Indian Mutiny and the subsequent relations between Jang Bahadur and Nana Sahib, and, above all, with the record of the Gurkhas during the Great War. Besides this assistance in the military sphere, he has given me the fullest possible help in disentangling the story of family and racial struggles that made up much of the history of Nepal until the accession to power of Jang Bahadur. There has not been one request for information that has not been met at once and to the utmost of his ability by the Maharaja. He has moreover sent to me men who have travelled over the unknown districts of Nepal, and straitly ordered them to be as frank and full in their explanations to me as if they were dealing with himself. For the first time the story of the Court of Katmandu has, in these pages, been willingly told in its fullness by the Government itself. Hitherto we have had to rely upon such information as could be obtained uncertainly from the grudging and biassed authorities of the Court of Nepal, checked by such unofficial methods as were available to the Resident. Here the material has been freely given, and original documents submitted without hesitation. Beyond all, it deserves to be put on record that, during the writing of this book, the Maharaja has repeatedly enjoined upon me that in no circumstances whatever was an opinion or a statement to be included which I did not myself think justified to the full.

One result of this frankness has been that, in turn, I have not conceived it to be of interest to readers to set before them any personal estimate of the rights or wrongs of the story I have to tell. I shall provide them with the facts, and it is for them to make their own decision. I may, however, be permitted to recall to their attention the unwisdom of applying the bland ethics which are accepted as binding upon Western civilization to the fierce emergencies of an Eastern State that has fought its way through internecine strife to unity and to international recognition. To this self-denying rule I make but one exception. It has been beyond me to record without an expression of admiration and gratitude the services rendered to the British Empire during the late war by the present Maharaja of Nepal and his two hundred thousand countrymen.

All that has hitherto been known to Europeans of the territory of Nepal is the high road that leads from India to Katmandu, and the Valley of Katmandu itself. A few valleys a mile or so beyond the ring of hills which

ems in the central plateau have at times been visited by Englishmen for the purposes of sport by the special permission of the Maharaja.¹

Practically nothing has till now been known of either Eastern or Western Nepal. Owing to the great altitudes, there is a scanty population along the whole range of the upper Himalayas; in this upper region there is little to discover except Muktinath, the pools of Gosain, and the two or three passes into Tibet. The description of the main routes threading together the chief towns of a hitherto unknown Nepal will be read with interest. They form perhaps as great a justification for this book, as the new historical material that is now for the first time available.

It has been said that previous historians of Nepal have been in most cases bound by official reticence. In the case of Hodgson we must regret that his ceaseless industry in the matter of collecting and collating material was not succeeded by any attempt to shape into one consistent whole the fruits of his great labour. This perhaps was owing to the refusal of any appreciation of his work by the Honourable East India Company or the India Office—a refusal which Hodgson may have regarded as a criticism from those whose permission he, as an official, was compelled to seek. In the case of Dr. Oldfield we may read between the lines that he was officially hindered from dealing with two of the most interesting periods of Nepalese history—the war of 1814-16 and the action of Jang Bahadur during the Mutiny of 1857. Dr. Wright sets himself to record the early history of Nepal as portrayed in her own chronicles. No one saw better than he the impossibility of regarding these chronicles as other than a record of legends and traditions. As we shall see later, they are in few cases to be taken literally, though on the other hand they reflect to those who have a knowledge of Oriental hyperbole—hyperbole both in time and space—an interesting sketch of the traditions of Nepal.

Throughout her entire existence Nepal has been practically shut off from the observation, the visit, and the record of her neighbours. The Chinese have perhaps helped us most to reconstruct the earlier chapters of her life, and—though historians of Indian birth are not unnaturally biassed against an independent State that snapped its fingers in turn at the Buddhist of the Lesser Vehicle, the Bengali, and the Mohammedan—we

¹ In this connection it is as well to say that the Nepalese do not include in the forbidden territory the Tarai which borders upon India. Here the great big-game shoots are organized, the timber industry is developed by an Englishman, and facilities are granted to archaeologists and others. It is unnecessary to add that in all cases such visitors must receive the endorsement of the Indian Government.

may glean from Brahman and Buddhist histories enough to read local colour into these earlier pages. In archaeology, whether it deals with the early Buddhist relics or with the later inscriptions that M. Lévi has made his own, the student often seems to be on the edge of discoveries that still elude him. In the chapter dealing with the history of Nepal from the beginning of the Christian era down to the fourteenth century, I have in general accepted M. Lévi's conclusions.

The interest of Nepal lies in the romance of her existence as a remote and always unknown territory, round which from the earliest days legends collected, and whose history was invested with a picturesqueness that the unknowable has always invited. Another period of especial interest occurs with the sudden rise to power of Nepal in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is of this period that the close of the first volume and the chapters of the second volume deal. And if no other good is done by the publication of this work, the author will be satisfied if in future a better recognition shall prevail, not only of the power and potential wealth of this kingdom, not only of the lasting loyalty and friendship which has for a century bound together the Nepalese and ourselves, but of the wisdom of the Nepalese policy of isolation. This is not merely the policy of a very able Prime Minister. Even less has it been suggested by the Government of India, though Simla cordially welcomes the barrier thus created. It is ingrained in every Nepalese. It is a faith, not a foible. The presence, even the look, of a stranger is to them fraught with evil influence; his intrusion into the woods, hills and rivers, temples, pools, and springs of Nepal is often scarcely less than sacrilege. All of them are instinct with a divine immanence that the Nepalese would not, and perhaps could not, explain to a foreigner.

It can be imagined with what difficulty any ancient custom, however outworn, is ended in such a land. The work of the Prime Minister in gradually introducing reforms into Nepal has been hard indeed; but it has been carried out with resolution, steadiness, and tact. The rite of *sati* is now not merely discontinued but forbidden by law; the administration of justice has been straightened; trial by ordeal is at an end; and within the last few months the Maharaja carried through with all his strength the last remaining reform—the final abolition of the mild form of slavery which still existed in his country.

Secluded from other peoples—and especially from Western races—by her own deliberate act, Nepal remains perhaps the sincerest friend to the

British of all the sovereign states of the world. We have tried her fidelity a score of times, and she has never failed us. Her word is her bond—and more than her bond. For after the awful struggle of the World War, when her men, tired out, homesick, and sorely diminished, had at last returned to their own villages, the new call of India for their help against the invading Afghans along the north-west frontier, was answered instantly. There was no treaty obligation, no contract, not even an understanding between the two peoples, but the Gurkhas came down in their thousands to stand once more beside the Indians in a day of trial. Nothing could better express the relations between Nepal and India than the answer of a high authority in Simla to me when I asked what the policy of the Indian Government towards Nepal was. / “We have no policy. We have only friendship.” It is a great phrase, and it deserves to be remembered in Whitehall as well as in Simla and Katmandu. }/

Nepal stands to-day on the threshold of a new life. Her future calls her in one direction, and one only. In all the varied theatres of Indian politics there is nothing which surpasses in interest the ultimate destiny of Nepal. Inevitably she will become of greater and greater importance if we persist in our present policy of lessening British influence in India. It is not impossible that Nepal may even be called upon to control the destinies of India itself



NOTE ON SPELLING

So far as is possible a consistent spelling of Nepalese names has been adopted. But considerable difficulty has been found in the transliteration of names which are obviously identical but have apparently equal authenticity in their various forms. I should like to point out that in the Treaty of 1923 Sagauli is quoted as Segowlie. If this means anything it means that the established script in important documents shall not lightly be interfered with. Taking this as a general rule, varied often by the acknowledged authority of Hunter, and occasionally by the traditional inaccuracies of such places as Calcutta, Lucknow, Cawnpore, and the like, the orthography consistently employed in these volumes will, I hope, be sufficiently clear. Of Tibetan and Chinese names there may be more uncertainty but I have done my best to make these as clear as possible. If any reader should have the curiosity to see the difficulty with which an English reader is confronted, the rendering of the style and title of the present Maharaja into Chinese characters will perhaps indicate the real trouble that exists, and probably will continue to exist, in the transliteration of Chinese and Hindu names. In some cases I have called a geographical feature such as the Tsangpo by its Tibetan name in Tibet and by its Hindu name in India. In other cases, sanctioned perhaps by long tradition, I have used a name recognized neither by Nepal nor by Tibet—such as Mount Everest. Where official quotations from treaties make it desirable I have entered in the Index the alternative form. But in general this has been an exceptional usage. Being obliged to select a permanent form for the constant prefix of the Prime Ministerial family of Nepal, I have chosen Sham Sher as that which is the best recognized by Hunter and the Indian Government. I have not wished to criticize those members of the Maharaja's family who spell their names with a difference. It has not been possible for me to make consistent distinctions between such forms as Bikram and Vikram. Similarly I have referred to the Vishnumati because a book of this description is necessarily read with greater interest in India where in general the "V" is accepted. I wish to conclude this paragraph with a full recognition of the kindness and assistance that have been given me in Nepal by Mr. Marichi Man Singh, Mr. Hari Gopal Banerji, Mr. Yajnamani Acharya Dixshit, and the Kharidar Sahib.

NOTES ON THE MAPS OF NEPAL

THE following notes should be studied, as the publication of an entirely new map raises certain questions of importance. The author was given all the material at the disposal of the Maharaja in Katmandu, and a fresh plan of the country embodying all the information that had been collected during the last twenty-five years was made for him, as well as an exact and detailed map of the Valley of Katmandu which is here reproduced. It may be mentioned that no map pretending to do more than fix a few points in the Valley had ever before been attempted.

The two plans containing the general map of the country have been reproduced from a careful draft made by the Survey of India. In it is included all the information that the Office has acquired since the early and somewhat sketchy maps of Nepal were first compiled, and the exact accuracy of the southern, western, and eastern frontiers is thereby assured.

The real difficulty lay in delimiting the northern frontier. In a general way the

direction of the border had been agreed upon by Tibet and Nepal since the war of 1792. There was the less chance of dispute because for nearly its whole length the boundary runs along ranges capped by perpetual snow uninhabited and unknown to any man. There were indeed two or three points that have created discussion. These were the indentations into what should geographically be Nepalese territory at the Kirong and Kuti passes. But these had been caused as a result of the treaty of 1792 and just or not there was no question about the frontier thus established. Three other small points exist where the Tibetans claim small pieces of land belonging to the Nepalese, but these are of no importance, as they concern glacier land only and are far removed from the only conceivable places of importance—those through which a possible entrance into Nepal could be effected.

But the information collected by the surveys of both Simla and Katmandu have introduced an element into the matter which needs careful statement. Comparison of the map here published with any old one will betray the fact that the precise conformation of this northern frontier has never hitherto been known with any accuracy. Even now the western portion may require further survey, but the work carried out by the Everest Expeditions has once for all settled the matters in dispute from the eastern corner of Nepal to a point where the Rongshar river cuts the frontier—a direct distance of about one hundred miles. From this point surveys less elaborate but entirely reliable carry on the work to the Nunud Himal—another distance of one hundred miles. Thus we have a certain survey to rely on for the most important section of the frontier—that comprising the two debated indentations of Kirong and Kuti. It will be seen later that difficulty is not thus avoided altogether, but for the moment it is as well to direct attention only to the trigonometrical aspect of this matter. From Nunud Himal north-westwards we have to guide us less unquestionable material. What has been acquired is based on trustworthy evidence but has not in general been the result of consistent or expert linking up of the main trigonometrically ascertained positions with local detail. No especial problem is presented by this uncertainty. The line is for the most part recognized as running along certain Himalayan crests, and the only change in its shape has been caused by the knowledge that we now possess of the actual lie of these icy uplands. This is a matter which may cause some uneasiness to the cartographers of the world, but does not affect the local inhabitants.

A more important question is that according to the map prepared for me in Katmandu, and accepted by the Survey of India at my request for the present purpose, three considerable alterations of a political character will be noticed. It is therefore necessary to state with clearness that the map published in this book is not to be regarded as official in any sense. The reader will form his own opinion of the extent to which any new change in the frontier is or is not of real importance. He will note that so far as the Kirong and the Kuti passes are affected, there has been no attempt—except the advancement of the frontier to the left bank of the Lundakhola—to gain any territory on the part of the Nepalese in these vital regions. On the contrary, they have to the immediate south of Kirong and to the south-west of Kuti made considerable concessions to Tibet. Elsewhere it is difficult to express an opinion. The most important change thus made by the Nepalese draftsmen is the absorption of the Pangma basin in Nepal. Next to that the spur that has been made to run out to the south-western slopes of Gosainthan or Shisha Pangma deserves careful attention. So far as I know there has not hitherto been made any claim by Nepal that the mountain of Gosainthan as well as the lakes of Gosain are within their territory. But I have myself found considerable difficulty in making myself clear when talking about the mountain as a Tibetan possession, and it is my belief that the spur thus drawn is in reality due to the unconscious connotation of the word Gosainthan with the Lakes which are unquestionably within the Nepalese

frontier. The third discrepancy with the old—and admittedly inaccurate—maps, is the slice of land that has been added to Nepalese territory to the east of the Kuti pass. Here a line of snow ranges north of the Rongshar stream has been taken as the frontier line instead of the line somewhat more to the south of which Gaurishankar is the dominant peak. This addition to the conventional map secures for Nepal a glacial district of about 220 square miles.

I wish it to be clearly understood that neither the Survey of India, who have worked on the material I have given them, nor myself (nor, until the Maharaja has asserted his attitude towards the work done at his order for my benefit, the Nepal Government), is in any way attempting to deal with any political question. The map as it stands represents a vast improvement on anything that has hitherto appeared, and must remain the only trustworthy geographical record of Nepal until the survey by the Indian officers of the Indian Survey which has been arranged by the Maharaja has been completed. The thanks of my readers are in an especial manner due to the Maharaja for his large assistance and to Colonel Tandy of the Survey of India who has carried out his part of the joint work with all the means at his disposal.

P. L.

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

SINCE the author's lamented death, and at the moment of going to press, it has been possible by courtesy of the Surveyor General, Survey of India, Calcutta, to add the "Map of Nepal showing watersheds and drainage," based upon, and the first map to be published as the result of, the first regular survey 1926-27.

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RUMMINDEI

From a water-colour drawing by the Author

NEPAL

CHAPTER I

THE EARLY DAWN

IT has already been said that Nepal remains the least known country of either hemisphere. A glance at a map of Northern India will explain clearly enough that its geographical position has had almost as much to do with this as the unwillingness of man. It is true that it lies on its mountain bed stretched out between the two great centres of early civilization in Asia, China and India, but the ice barrier of the Himalayas, which runs from one end to the other of its northern frontier, proved an almost impenetrable obstacle to any communication between the two countries. How terrible that barrier is may not at once be recognized from a first glance at the map. But in old days an attempt to penetrate into the two or three unbridged and precipitous gaps in the everlasting ice field was attended with such danger to pilgrims as practically made the enterprise an act of folly rather than of faith. There were other ways by which China could communicate with India, and the earliest travellers of whom we have record used them. Fa-hsien, about the year 400 B.C., set out from Ch'ang-an upon his great adventure. He was impelled by a pious determination to visit the holy places of Buddhism, and to obtain from the centres of religious instruction in India more perfect copies of the sacred books than any which then existed in China. He made no attempt to scale the Himalayas in spite of the fearful journey across the Gobi Desert which awaited him at the start. It is not without importance that Fa-hsien deliberately challenged the miseries of this route. Had it not already been a common belief in China that the Himalayas were impassable he would scarcely have faced this travel across the empty wastes of Central Asia. As he notes, "In this desert there are a great many evil spirits and also hot winds; those who encounter them perish to a man. There are neither birds above nor beasts below. Gazing on all sides as far as the eye can reach in order to mark the track, no guidance is to be obtained save from the rotting bones of dead men, which point the way."¹

His journey may be taken roughly to represent the usual method of approaching India from the north. He passed through Khotan, Kashgar,

¹ *The Travels of Fa-hsien*, by Professor H. A. Giles, 1923.

and Peshawar. On the way he refers to the dangers of the latter part of the road—"the side of the mountain is like a stone wall, 10,000 feet in height. But nearing the edge the eye becomes confused and wishing to advance the foot finds no resting place." The rest of his journeys, except his visit to Kapilavastu and the Lumbini Garden, do not fall within the scope of this work, but in considering the notorious impassability of the Himalayas and his choice of an alternative, it is not without interest to note the comment of an anonymous Chinese writer quoted by Professor Giles, who records a meeting with Fa-hsien. The great pilgrim honestly confessed that "looking back upon what I went through, my heart throbs involuntarily and sweat pours down." The tracks through Nepal were



THE DHAULAGIRI PEAK AS SEEN FROM POKHRA

believed in these early days to be, and in fact were, worse still. For all practical purposes the kingdom was a kind of Himalayan *cul-de-sac* to be approached only from the Indian plains. Fa-hsien returned to China by sea.

If confirmation of this belief in the impregnability of the Himalayas were needed, we can find it in the preference of Hsüan Tsang who, in A.D. 629, chose the road through the Gobi Desert, Tashkent, Balkh, and the Khaibar Pass rather than face the horrors of the more direct road to India.¹

To this day, in spite of improvements carried out at different periods,

¹ I-Tsing records the passage of nine early travellers from China to India through Tibet, the first of whom was Hiuen-Chiao in A.D. 650. But by this time Lhasa was in existence, and all of these found their way down to northern India through the Chumbi Valley, the extension of which into the Himalayas and its use as a precarious high road induced the Tibetans to occupy and administer it. It is difficult to speak with any certainty of a formal annexation in these early days.

the passes between Nepal and Tibet remain rather for local and military needs than for international transit or transport. During many months of the year they are, with two exceptions, so difficult as to compel the traders of India and Tibet to use the detour through Sikkim, arduous as that journey remains. As we shall see, Nepal in its earliest days looked to India, not only for its masters and its religion, but also for such trade as existed. The marriage of Amshuvarman's daughter, Dé-tsun,¹ in A.D. 639, was the beginning of any real intercommunication and mutual knowledge between the deserts to the north of Mount Everest and the fertile valleys to the south.

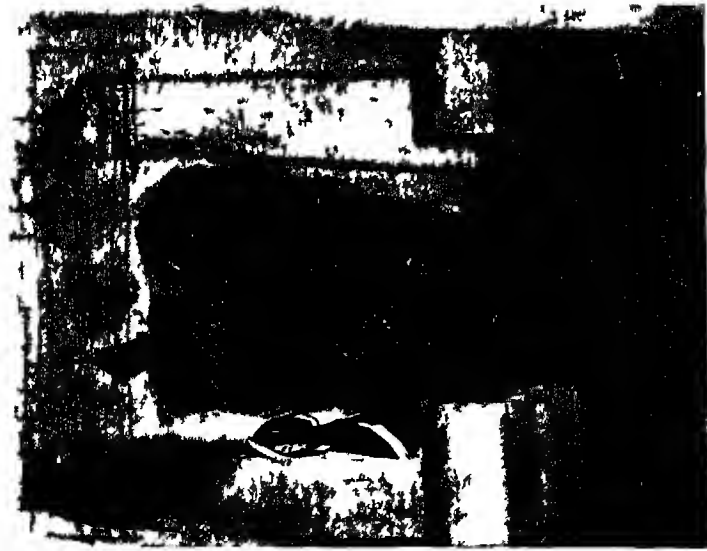
The fame of Nepal as a Buddhist centre challenged the pious pilgrims of those days to make the journey from northern India to Rummindei and the adjacent holy sites. Some of them penetrated up to Katmandu, where the six great stupas set up by the Emperor Asoka and the nearly coeval shrines of Swayambhunath and Boddhnath were more attractive to the devout than any other centres outside India proper. In speaking of Rummindei as being in Nepalese territory it must be understood that I do not assert that in those early days anything like the present state of Nepal existed. These territories were then and long afterwards remained in the hands of the ruling dynasty of the Ganges Valley, and they are included here because at the present moment they form part of the existing territory of Nepal.

At this period the Tarai was in a sense no man's land. Nepal itself did not exist except as a congeries of independent and warring tribes occasionally overawed by a display of sovereignty from India. The more peaceful inhabitants of northern India veiled their fear of these hardy mountaineers by an ascription to them of godlessness and hostility to strangers. A distinction was recognized between those who dwelt in the Tarai and had been more or less civilized by their contact with Buddhism and with Indian culture, and the reivers of the foothills, and the pilgrimages that were made so frequently to the home and the birthplace of Prince Gautama were probably not attended with any serious danger. It was and is holy ground indeed.

To three hundred million people on earth to-day that lonely region of Rummindei, wherein a five-acre thicket of trees breaks the flat level of the surrounding plough-land, is sacred beyond all expression because, in the words cut as clearly as ever upon Asoka's pillar, "the Buddha Sakya-muni was born here."

It was by an accident, perhaps by one of the most curious accidents in the history of archaeology, that in 1895 Dr. Fuhrer chanced upon this missing pillar. It was set up by the Emperor Asoka 2,175 years ago upon the spot where Gautama was born. In 1894 Dr. Fuhrer reported that he

¹ Spelled Bri-btsun.



Statue of Birth of Buddha

RVMMINDEI



Birthplace of Buddha

THE EARLY DAWN

had found the Nirvana stupa of a previous and mythical Buddha, named Konagamana, on the banks of the Nagali Sagar near Nigliva. He had indeed found the Asokan column recording the Emperor's visit in 250 B.C. Next year he was authorized to return to Nigliva in order to meet General Khadga, Governor of Palpa, to arrange for the continuance of the research. By an accident the meeting could not take place at Nigliva; the Governor actually met the antiquarian at Paderiya, fifteen miles east-south-east of Nigliva, and a mile north of the frontier station of Bagwantpur. On the following day, 1st December 1895, close to the General's camp there was discovered, in a thicket rising above the level of the surrounding fields, the great monolith of Asoka. A little Hindu shrine and a mass of early brick-work is still known by the name Rummindei—a natural modification of the old name Lumbini. Not far away flows the Oil River. The pillar was deeply imbedded in accumulated debris, and it was not until several feet of earth were cleared away that the inscription of the Emperor was discovered. Then it was at once clear that the pillar marked the position of the Lumbini Garden, where, according to the definite statement of the earliest Buddhist pilgrims and chroniclers, Prince Gautama was born. The inscription runs as follows: "King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods"—this was the personal formula generally used by the Emperor Asoka in his inscriptions—"having been anointed twenty years, came in person and worshipped here, saying, 'Here Buddha, the Sakya ascetic, was born,' and he caused a stone capital in the shape of a horse to be constructed and a stone pillar to be erected, which declares, 'Here the Blessed One was born.' King Piyadasi exempted the village community of Lummini from taxes, and bestowed wealth upon it."¹

It is no easy matter to make a visit to Rummindei. Without the permission of the Maharaja of Nepal the visit is impossible, and without his assistance also it is practically beyond the capability of any visitor. It involves a night journey of eight hours in a palanquin from Bridgmanganj until the frontier is crossed. Here the palanquin is no longer possible, owing to the presence of deep streams, and elephants have to be used for the remainder of the way. At last the thicket is approached, and in the dry season the outline of the small shrine, to which reference has been made, can be seen through the leafless trees. The elephants will make their way to the new lodge built by the Maharaja of Nepal to the north-east of this shrine. Here the visitor dismounts, and he cannot fail to notice that practically the whole extent of what I have called a thicket is raised from ten to twenty feet above the surface of the surrounding country. It is, in fact, a huge mass of debris. He will probably first visit the little building, now identified with a Hindu goddess, of which the original dedication is made clear by a sculpture dimly to be seen down the flight of steps leading

¹ See Appendix X.

to the shrine—for the debris has engulfed the shrine itself to the extent of six or seven feet. This sculpture actually represents the birth of Buddha, and, though it cannot claim to be of anything like the age of the pillar outside, it was certainly set up in honour of the Master some time before Buddhism faded out from India in the seventh century¹

Leaving the courtyard of this shrine, where the capital of Asoka's pillar is still to be seen, one goes a little way down the slope, and there, twenty yards from the western wall of the temple, the Emperor's monument stands as firmly as ever. The Nepalese have attempted to save it from further disintegration by capping it with a flat stone, a device which at a



A HALT IN A TOPE NEAR RUMMINDEI

distance detracts from its grace. It would have been simpler and better to restore the original capital. No attempt has yet been made to investigate the surrounding ruins, except that Dr. Fuhrer made a partial excavation at the actual base of the pillar itself in order to ascertain its length and the manner in which it was supported.

A few yards away to the south are the remains of the pool mentioned by the Buddhist authorities as that in which Maya, the mother of Buddha, bathed immediately before the child's birth. It will be remembered that, in accordance with Indian custom, Maya was on her way from her husband's

¹ Among the illustrations of the muddling of Buddhist and Hindu personalities may be noted the information I received at Rumminderi. I was told that the lady of the carving was a Hindu divinity, and that her name was Tathagata.

capital of Kapilavastu in order to give birth to her first son in her father's house at Devadaha. Here, fifty li to the east of Kapilavastu, on the eighth day of the second half of the month of Vaisakha, she and her maids reached a grove of sal trees, which had been arranged as a resting place for the Queen. After leaving the pool by the north side, Maya walked twenty paces. She then felt the pains upon her and, facing the east, grasped the branch of a tree above her,¹ and so her child was born from her right flank.²

We may assume that it was found impossible to look properly after the suddenly overtaken mother, and that this premature delivery was the direct cause of her death seven days later. But the child himself thrived and, by every tradition, grew up to be one of the handsomest and most athletic young princes upon whom the Himalayas have ever looked down. Although the city of Kapilavastu may well lie within the frontiers of Nepal, it is unnecessary here to recall the legendary youth of Prince Gautama. It is a story that belongs rather to that of the origins of Buddhism.

The story of Asoka's visit is thus recorded in the Buddhist chronicle. "Asoka, accompanied by the ancient and venerable Upagupta, the recipient of all the knowledge and traditions of the faith, visited Lummini in great state. With him went four battalions of troops, and the perfumes, flowers, and garlands of due worship were not forgotten. Arrived at the garden Upagupta extended his right hand, and said to Asoka, 'Here, O great King, the Venerable One was born,' adding, 'At this site, excellent to behold, should be the first monument consecrated in honour of the Buddha.' The King, after giving 100,000 golden coins to the people of the country, raised a stupa pillar and retired."

Eight hundred years later Hsüan Tsang visited the place, and by a happy accident recorded that the pillar had been struck by lightning and split, and the horse and the capital thrown down.³ The former has been lost within the last few years, but the capital, of Persian design, is, as I have said, now resting in the courtyard of the shrine twenty-five yards away from the cleft pillar.

The identity of Kapilavastu with Tilaura Kot is a matter that will never perhaps be wholly settled. The question depends entirely upon the testimony of the two Chinese pilgrims, Fa-hsien and Hsüan Tsang. The

¹ It is to be noted that the sculpture in the Hindu shrine a few yards away faces the east.

² Edwin Arnold's description in *The Light of Asia* is full of inaccuracies.

³ "By the side of the stupa is a great stone pillar; on the top of it is the figure of a horse which was built by an Asokan Rajah. Afterwards by the contrivance of a wicked dragon it was broken off in the middle and fell to the ground. By the side of it is a little river which flows to the south-east. The people of the place call it the 'River of Oil'—a river, the stream of which is still unctuous" (Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, 1884, vol. ii, p. 24). The crack caused by lightning descends about thirteen feet from the top and just touches the inscription.

stories of their approach to the Lumbini Garden from Kapilavastu cannot be reconciled in any way except on the assumption that two quite different places were pointed out to the pilgrims as the ruins of Kapilavastu. Both men started from Sravasti and both certainly reached the garden of the birthplace. The country was a jungle strewn with ruins, and the tradition of the site was either lost or recovered in the 230 years that elapsed between the two visits. It is clear that Piprawa was shown to Fa-hsien as the city of Suddhodana.¹ On the other hand Hsüan Tsang was undoubtedly shown Tilaura Kot as the site of Kapilavastu. Mr. V. A. Smith, who was the first to point out this almost certain source of the inconsistency between the descriptions of Fa-hsien and Hsüan Tsang, does not say of Tilaura Kot that there is no other place in the whole region which can possibly be identified with Kapilavastu. He says, however, that there is no other place which can be identified with the royal precincts described by Hsüan Tsang. The evidence has not been added to since Mr. Smith's examination of the claims of the two districts, and it is therefore impossible to come to any definite decision in the matter. We are, however, able to define with exactness the site of a town sacred to the memory of the previous Buddha Kōṇagamana, for there the Emperor Asoka had set up a pillar in his honour beside the Nagali Sagar.²

There can be no question whatever of the identity of Rummindai with the Lumbini Garden with its defaced brick pool, twenty or thirty paces to the south, its river of oil,³ and the Buddhist shrine upon the mound which has since been appropriated by the Hindus. The tree under which Maya gave birth to Gautama is differently reported by the pilgrims. Fa-hsien says that it was a sal tree (*Shorea robusta*): Hsüan Tsang asserts that it was an asoka tree (*Jonesia asoka*). There is at present no specimen of either tree within the limits of the thicket. With the exception of one magnificently grown fig at the south-east corner of the pool, there are no trees of any size, the majority being of the bel species—to the fruit of which it is still customary to marry in infancy every Newari girl in order to avoid the disabilities of widowhood. Of other trees here there are tamarinds, pipals, guava, and amlosas with pink cherry-like blossoms. The weaver

¹ The evidence for Piprawa has been greatly strengthened by the discovery of the crystal reliquary in the stupa there. It bears the inscription: "Belonging to the brethren of the well-famed One, together with their little sisters, and together with their children and wives—namely, the kinsmen of Buddha, the Blessed One—this is a deposit of relics." This interpretation by Dr. Fleet is opposed by M. Senath and M. Barth, but is accepted by the chief epigraphists.

² A reproduction and translation of the mutilated text upon this monolith will be found in Appendix X.

³ Tel Kosi. The name of Paderiya, the nearest village, is derived from Paudari, "the place of the footsteps." This refers to a legend that immediately after his birth the infant Gautama took seven paces.

birds build their laborious and dainty nests in the bamboos and a kind of jasmine is found

The split in the column caused by lightning, mentioned by Hsuan Tsang, is still visible, and it is possible that the pillar is cleft some way below the existing earth level. At this moment only three lines out of the five engraved by Asoka are above ground¹. The colour of the pillar would be black were it not for the pious rubbings of the faithful. Eighteen months ago some Burmese pilgrims put on patches of gold leaf. It is impossible to blame this ill-directed enthusiasm, as the walls and pillars of Jerusalem



RUMMINDEI

Courtyard of shrine showing capital of Asoka's pillar,
and mistaken restoration of Ganesha

and Bethlehem have arisen as witnesses to as devout a faith and on lesser evidence. St. Helena of York was after all only an imitator of Asoka. It is worth noting that about the same time—300 years—elapsed between the birth of the founders of Christianity and Buddhism and the imperial recognition of their incarnations.

As I have said, the other place names have remained unchanged. I noticed that, in asking his way—Rumminderi is a difficult place to get to—the mahout of my elephant always asked for "Rumpinderi," and the name of the goddess now presiding over the Hindu shrine is Rupandehi Bhagavati.

¹ The pillar at Rumminderi is twenty one feet seven inches in height. Eight feet six inches are embedded in brick.

I give the spelling according to the instructions of the Suba or District Lieutenant of the Governor of Palpa.¹

Inside the courtyard of the small shrine, besides the capital of Asoka's column, are several carvings. Some of them have been assembled without much regard for the unfailing proportions always observed by Hindu artists. For example, there can be no doubt that the Ganesha is in reality composed of the fragments of two separate statues.² The temple itself, though some feet above the level of the base of the pillar and therefore of later date, has been submerged in the rising tide of ruins, and the worshipper has to go down several steps before he reaches the floor level. The sculpture representing the birth of Buddha which, it will be seen, faithfully records the tradition that he was born from his mother's right side, has the not uncommon characteristic that the infant is also shown standing at his mother's feet, no doubt on the point of making the famous seven strides.

Upon the wall immediately over this carving may be seen an almost effaced painting of Buddha. He is in the "bhūmisparsa mudra." The upper part of the body, the two legs, and the halo—of unusual size—may all be clearly distinguished, as well as the lotus throne on which the Master is seated.

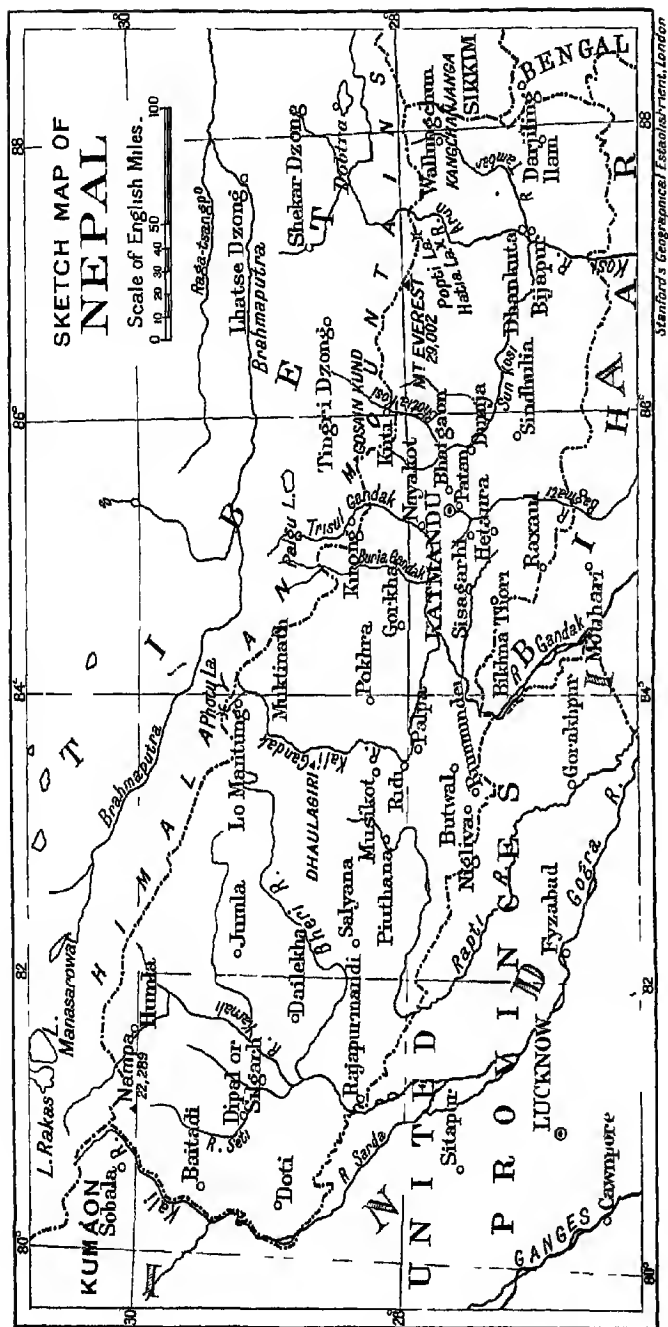
It is proposed that the existing shrine shall be enlarged. If this is done, two or three results are probable. No extension to the west is possible without the inclusion within the new precincts of the pillar, which will thus become inaccessible to Western students. It will also be necessary to clear away a large amount—if not indeed all—of the debris of centuries which now forms the tree-covered mound of Rummindei. The upper strata of this mound are probably the ruins of Hindu work, and of course of less antiquity than the older or Buddhist remains.³

A full examination is likely to give back to the world the railing which Asoka seems to have set up round the pillar. It would no doubt be similar in character to the railings which were set up in India at or soon after Asoka's date. It would be difficult to over-estimate the historic and artistic value of such a discovery. Certainly some part of the walls of the earliest vihara or monastic cloisters would be found. Here a continual service of Buddhist monks was housed, and herein pilgrims from all countries found a temporary shelter. At the same time it would be possible

¹ I have much pleasure in recording the unfailing courtesy and help which I received from this official.

² It will be seen by reference to the photograph that the top of the statue of Ganesha has been wrongly placed on the headless body of a female deity. The two do not fit in any way. In the Indian Archaeological Department's report this has not been noticed by the Indian official sent to examine the site, and the obvious misapplication has been slurred over in the published sketch.

³ The older—though not the oldest—temple, that upon which the present shrine was built, was twenty-one feet square. The modern shrine is sixteen feet in each direction.



Standard's Geographical Establishment, London



CHOBAR

to trace and clear out the sides of the famous pool to the south. Other remains of unsuspected interest would also be found, and the smaller treasures in the shape of offerings, dedicatory copper plates, relics, seals, would be of the first importance. No site in India offers the same possibilities. For the birthplace was unquestionably a centre of pilgrimage at least as important as were the other three Great Places—Buddhgaya, where the Master received enlightenment; Sarnath, a few miles outside Benares, where he first turned the Wheel of the Law, or in other words preached the doctrine; and Kasia, where the Illustrious One entered upon Nirvana. Intense piety, with its accompanying rebuilding and restoration, has reduced the possibility of discovering anything new at Buddhgaya or Sarnath. The places were within easy reach of large towns, and a perpetual reconstruction and re-embellishment has rendered it unlikely that further discoveries, architectural or personal, will be found there. The same is not true of Kasia—the ancient Kusinara—where much no doubt remains. But the ruins there have already been carefully unearthed by Indian archaeologists, and enough has been found to suggest that this last hope, the forlorn little mound of Rummindei in Nepal, certainly contains materials that may set at rest some of the problems of earlier Buddhism. The Maharaja of Nepal fully understands the importance of the site, and has cordially agreed that, should he be able to carry out any work there, the assistance of the highest antiquarian authorities in India shall be invited.¹

It is with these inscriptions in the Tarai that the recorded history of Nepal begins.

Before any consideration of the further visit of King Asoka to the Valley, it is advisable briefly to sum up the legendary history of that district. The whole history of Upper Nepal, as it affects and interests the world, is concentrated upon this central plain. The Valley, of which a detailed description is given elsewhere, is drained southwards into India through one narrow precipitous cleft in the rocks of Chaubahal, commonly known as Chobar, and, four miles lower, through the Pharping Gorge between the hills of Champadevi and the western slopes of the Mahabharata massif. The legend that dominates this mystical period is that, according to the faith of the believer, either Vishnu or Manjusri or Krakuchhanda—a previous reincarnation of the Buddha—clefth these two narrow gorges with a sword, and thereby allowed the waters of the lake, which previously filled the Valley, to escape into the Ganges and so to the sea. Geologists admit that the Valley was probably at one time a lake, and that, either by

¹ The water colour that is reproduced is one that I made in 1908, and represents fairly well the aspect of Rummindei in the cooler months. I tried to make another sketch in 1924, but there was no shade, the thermometer was 163° in the sun, and the Gurkhas, who were detailed by the Suba to hold umbrellas over my head, suffered too much to allow me to complete it.

some terrestrial upheaval or by constant erosion of the outlet through the southern barrier, the waters were drained off and the land reclaimed.¹

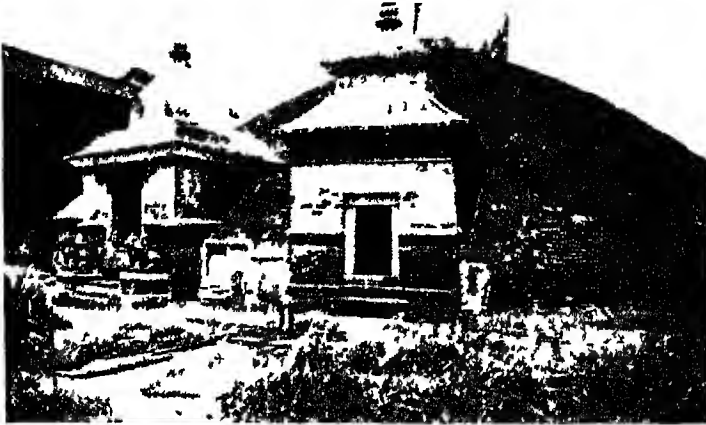
Whatever the agency, the Valley of Nepal, raised from under the surface of the waters, has always possessed a soil of extraordinary and constant fertility. It soon attracted those who had been living a hard life among the surrounding mountains, and it is difficult to resist the assumption that, though under many different names, the district of Katmandu has always been inhabited by an industrious and agricultural class. They made, somewhere in the vicinity of the watersmeet of the Bagmati and the Vishnumati, various centres from which to control, organize, and, so far as they could, protect the labours of the workers on this rich alluvial field. To what degree of civilization these peasants attained it is difficult to guess, especially as we have no record of a permanent tenure of the Valley by any race sufficiently long to enable them to leave any trace upon the history of the older world.

But that this mountain garden was in a measure recognized by the Brahmans of northern India is reflected in certain allusions which may be understood to refer to Nepal. For example, there is the story that in the dim ages which modern research has agreed to place somewhere between the years 1500 and 1100 B.C., a prince of Nepal fought and died on Arjuna's side at the famous battle of Kurukshetra. But this meteor-like appearance of a kingship in Nepal leaves us where we were before, so far as any knowledge of the country and the people is concerned. Still we do get a persistent legend that at some time during the life of Gautama Buddha (563-483 B.C.) the Valley had attained sufficient reputation to induce the Master to make a journey thither. The visit of Asoka and his erection of shrines at places connected with Buddha's stay there, render this journey almost certain. It is, moreover, confirmed by the legends of the visits of Ananda and other disciples, which deserve some attention.

The climate of Nepal had a bad reputation among the early Indian writers. The following tales will be found set out at length in the first Appendix of the third volume of M. Lévi's work. The first, which is taken from the *Mûlasarvâstivâdavinaya*, recalls that when Buddha was

¹ It is not uninteresting to remember that this legendary drainage of inundated land plays a part in many other districts in Eastern Asia. The plain of Loyang—at one time the capital of China—is separated from the Yellow River by a range of hills, and local tradition insists that by a similar intervention of a deity, it was drained and turned into one of the richest centres of Chinese agriculture. An even more appropriate case is a similar legend in Tibet, just across the Himalayan barrier from Nepal. The central plain of Tibet, according to this story, was at one time so inundated that only monkeys were able to live here and there in the swamps. Even they had so hard a life that they appealed to Buddha for help, and, of course on the condition that they should become men and good Buddhists, the waters from the wide plain of Gyantse were thereupon drawn off by one of those underground channels which play so large a part in Indian mythology.

residing at Sravasti, some of his followers joined a troop of merchants making their way to Nepal. They did this in spite of the warnings of the traders. "Holy ones, in Nepal the ground is nothing but rocks, and it is



NORTH STUPA, PATAN

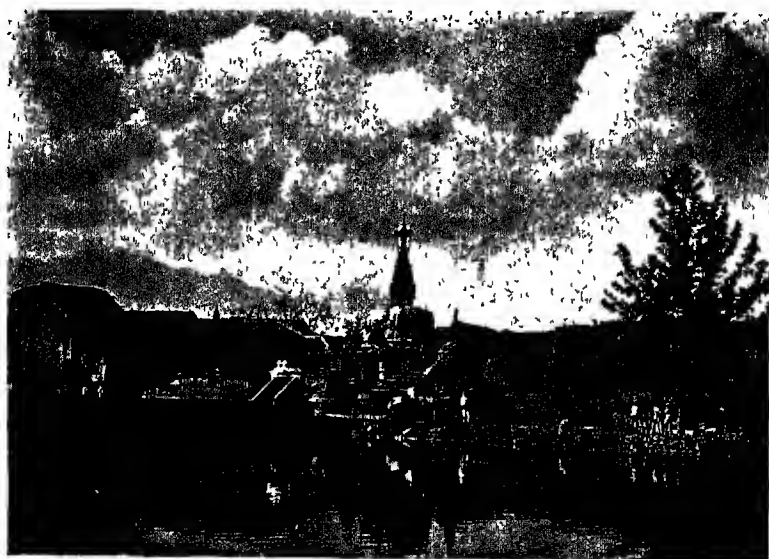


SOUTH STUPA, PATAN

as humpy as the back of a camel. Surely you are not going to enjoy your journey." They travelled with the merchants, and at last arrived in the Valley. The warnings of the traders had been justified, and the Buddhist devotees went next morning to ask of the merchants when they were returning to India, explaining that they were not feeling well. Naturally the

merchants declined to leave the Valley until their merchandise had been sold and other goods bought, but they said they had friends who would willingly escort the disillusioned Bhikshus down to the plains. The latter, with cries of joy, accepted the offer.

To this story is added the note that the cheapest goods in Nepal were wool and orpiment.¹ An even more interesting addition is the statement that the second lot of merchants bought wool in large quantities and with it charged their carts before leaving the Valley. It is evident that neither in those days nor in these could a carriage of any description be taken over either the Chandragiri or Sisagarhi passes.



CENTRAL STUPA, PATAN

In another part of the same book is an even more human reference to the natural terrors of Nepal. After recording the massacre of the Sakyas of Kapilavastu, the assertion is made that some of the survivors fled to Nepal; the latter being of the house and family of the famous disciple Ananda. Some time after, some Indian merchants made their way to the Valley where they found these Sakyas bitterly complaining of their lot, and demanding that Ananda should come to see their plight. In consequence the holy Ananda, touched with pity, went up into Nepal. He found the country very cold and snowy, and suffered severely from frost-bite. The skin of his hands and the soles of his feet were broken into ulcerated

¹ This mineral, otherwise known as disulphide of arsenic or "realgar," and to the Greeks as "sandarache," is not now included among the natural resources of Nepal.

" crevasses "; and on his return to Sravasti the disciples cried out upon the terrible state in which the holy Ananda had come back, " for," they said, " in old days you had hands as unbroken and smooth as your tongue." His answer was simple: " The kingdom of Nepal," he said, " is next to the Himalayan mountains, and because of the wind and the snow my feet and hands are in this state." The inquisitive disciples pressed him further. " But your relations there? How do they manage to live? " He answered: " They wear shoes." Again they demanded: " But why don't you wear them? " Ananda replied: " The Buddha has not yet given permission for their use." The little company of Bhikshus then went directly to ask the Master, who gave them this decision: " In cold and snowy places, the use of shoes is permitted."¹

Next in order comes a slight but clear connection between the Jain religion and Nepal. About the year 312 B.C., while Chandra Gupta was driving out the last of the Nanda kings from Magadha, a division, which exists to this day, was being fomented among the Jains. Two men, Sambhutavijaya and Bhadrabahu—the author of the Mahavira—were jointly responsible for the direction of the Jain community until this date. In the year 312 B.C. Sambhutavijaya died, leaving his colleague in the curious position of being the sole initiate on earth who knew the Fourteen Purvas or chapters of the most ancient Jain Scriptures. Soon afterwards a famine began in northern India which lasted for twelve years, and Bhadrabahu went south to the Karnatic where food was plentiful. After the famine was over Bhadrabahu returned, but at once resigned his headship of the Jain faith and retired to Nepal to spend the rest of his life in penitence—probably for his want of courage in a moment of emergency.

But the monks who had accompanied Bhadrabahu to the South took up a different attitude. On their return—about 300 B.C.—they carried the war into the enemy's camp by reproaching those Jains who had stayed behind in Magadha with laxity of morals and heresy. The local quarrel extended throughout the domain of Jainism. A Council of Jains was called at Pataliputra—which may roughly be identified with the modern Patna. The conference found itself in a position of difficulty, for Bhadrabahu was the only living soul who knew the mystic doctrines of the Fourteen Purvas. Without his co-operation the tradition of Jainism must for the future have been uncanonical. So Sthulabhadra, a disciple of Sambhutavijaya, went to Bhadrabahu in Nepal and there obtained the Fourteen Purvas. To a student of psychology it is not uninteresting to note that on his return he asserted that only ten of these chapters could be communicated to others.

¹ M. Lévi admits that this second story may perhaps be a later addition, but he insists that the first tale is essentially part of the work. He also suggests that such an addition might well have been made by a Nepalese Buddhist.

In this way the great schism in Jainism began. Those monks who had accompanied Bhadrabahu to the South declined to accept the story that



EAST STUPA, PATAN



WEST STUPA, PATAN

was told by Sthulabhadra or to attend the Council, and founded the Digambara sect. The remainder, under the name of Svetambara, continued the Jain tradition on the basis of the imperfect records that Sthulabhadra said

he was permitted to divulge. This division of the Jain sects in India remains to this day. But this original distinction between the two versions of the faith has, for purposes of common interest, been eclipsed by another difference between the two schools. The Jains who followed Sthulabhadra dressed themselves in white garments: the revolting monks of Bhadrabahu adopted the practice, as their name implies, of being clothed with the sky—which means that they lived entirely naked.

More definite assurance of Gautama's visit to Nepal is given by the undoubted conviction of the great Emperor Asoka in 250 B.C. that Gautama



CHAITVA AT KIRTIPUR

Buddha had not only visited the Valley but that some incident of unusual importance to the Buddhist faith had taken place there. For in Katmandu Asoka left more ponderous evidence of his visit than anywhere else in all his long career. To this day—and mercifully almost unchanged—the four great stupas with which he surrounded Patan are still standing. Other shrines also he built which may be traced, but in these cases the plain mounds of bricks and earth that he erected have been so ornamented by later generations that they have practically lost all resemblance to Asoka's monuments. But in their midst they probably to this day contain records and relics by which, and by which alone, light can be thrown upon these ancient recognitions of the holiness of the Valley.

These relics of the visit of Asoka will be dealt with in another chapter. Like the pillar at Rummindei they constitute definite proof of the visit of the Emperor in the middle of the third century B.C. In this connection it should be remembered that, whatever his practical authority among these mountains, Asoka regarded Nepal as definitely included in his own Empire.

It is perhaps hardly worth while to make more than a passing reference to the ancient legends which associate with both Pashpati and Swayambhunath the miraculous enthronement of two distinct religions in this remote Himalayan hill-locked plain. In them the Buddhas of more than one reincarnation are recorded. Though the reputation of this home of sanctity was greatly increased by every legend that Oriental devotion could devise or remember, the plain fact is that Asoka, by his journey to Patan and by the erection of five stupas there and one at Kirtipur, conferred for ever a permanent and localized distinction upon the centre of the Valley of Nepal.¹ From that time onwards it has been a place of pilgrimage, and though the past and present relations between Buddhism and Hinduism form one of the most interesting and most complicated problems that modern religions offer, there is no doubt that from the point of view of the countries which lie to the north of Nepal, she maintains to this day centres of merit-giving which no incident in her history has in any way diminished.

The death of Asoka seems for the moment to have put an end to the imperial claims of India to Nepal. This was due no doubt less to the weakness of India than to the lack of any inducement to occupy a valley remote and difficult of access, however fertile it was and however sacred. From this time for nearly nine hundred years Nepal figures uncertainly, vaguely, and at long intervals in the recorded chronicles of northern India. It was at first regarded by the orthodox Buddhists, who were then at their zenith, as a country of savages. No doubt in many ways this contempt, though largely based upon religious narrowness, was not unjustified. That some form of Buddhism was kept awake within the Valley is likely. The great shrines of Swayambhunath and Boddhnath, and the more recent stupas of Asoka were in themselves enough to attract the casual visit of pilgrims probably as much determined to tread in the footsteps of Asoka as in those of Buddha. But they have left no record, and it is only in the persistent upkeep of the two former shrines that we can trace a continuous life in the religion which Nepal had taken as her own.

¹ The visit of the Emperor Asoka to Nepal is also associated with the foundation of the two northern suburbs of Katmandu called Deo Patan and Chabahil, but a more interesting relic of his presence is the legend that his daughter Charumati and her Kshatriya husband, Devapali, remained in the Valley and founded a vihara which is still identified by the faithful and is visited by many pilgrims.

CHAPTER II

VRSA DEVA TO THE MALLAS

"By this time, like one who had set out on his way by night, and travelled through a region of dreams, our history now arrives on the confines, where daylight and truth meet us with a clear dawn, representing to our view, though at far distance, true colours and shapes."

MILTON.

IN the case of Vrsa deva, who almost certainly reigned over the Valley in the last quarter of the fourth century, we are on more or less stable ground. For a time there opens a fairly well documented period of Nepalese history. From A.D. 496 to A.D. 880 the sequence of the Licchavi kings and their general policy are illuminated and confirmed by a valuable series of inscriptions in and near Katmandu, most of which have been deciphered and edited by Bendall, Fleet, Buhler, Bagvantlal, Sylvain Lévi, and Dahlmann. It need hardly be said that, owing to the inability of European savants personally to explore and copy inscriptions outside the Valley, this field of archaeological treasure has so far only been scratched. But the exertions of the experts I have just mentioned have already provided a small number of fixed points for the development of Nepalese historical research. Those who are interested in epigraphy will find an exhaustive and well illustrated study of recently discovered records in the third volume of M. Lévi's work. Here it is enough to say that from about A.D. 496 to the beginning of the seventh century the known story of Nepal is almost entirely based upon these inscriptions.¹

Vrsa deva was the first of a line of kings who found favour with the religious chroniclers of Nepal. If these chroniclers are to be trusted, they combined valour and piety, wisdom and generosity with personal purity and a laudable respect for the Church. Their praises recur with somewhat suspicious regularity. One would like to have even ten lines of some non-

¹ The many different eras employed in Nepalese records are a serious difficulty in the work of chronologizing her early history.

Kali Yuga	begins 3101 B.C.
Samvat Vikramaditya	57 B.C.
Shaka-Salivahana	78 A.D.
Licchavi	110 A.D.
Gupta	319 A.D.
Amshuvarman	595 A.D.
Samvat of Nepal	880 A.D.

official tale with which to compare the eulogies that introduce these inscriptions. The sequence of conventional praise is, however, sometimes varied by a human touch. Mana deva, who as a child ascended the throne of Nepal shortly before the year 496, was under the tutelage of his mother,



CHANGU NARAYAN

one of the outstanding feminine personalities of these dark ages. She inspired him, and perhaps at times spurred him. It was to her that he referred at all times the policy that he contemplated, and it seems probable that Queen Rajyavati, both as consort and dowager, was throughout her active life the autocrat of Nepal. Mana deva's military exploits are recorded with pride and with some fullness on the pillar of the temple of

Changu Narayan, but always there is the suggestion that they are the work of one who continually and even obediently sought the consent and approbation of his mother.

Rajyavati joined her flats well. She made a notable offer to follow her dead husband upon the funeral pyre, but allowed herself to be dissuaded by the entreaties of the young king. Reconciled to a prolongation of her life and power, she foresaw the danger of allowing her son to acquire independent glory during military campaigns at which she could not herself be present. She therefore deputed her brother to act as her representative at head-quarters when Mana deva was away from her personal influence. Apparently in defiance of the law, she maintained her own courts, both spiritual and temporal; and it would be interesting to know whether grief or relief was the uppermost feeling in Mana deva's mind when, about the year 497, he dedicated in Lajjanpat a carving of Vishnu which may reasonably be regarded as a commemoration of the recent death of his efficient mother.

At this time Nepal stretched from beyond the river Gandak on the west, and marched with the territory of the Kirantis on the east.¹

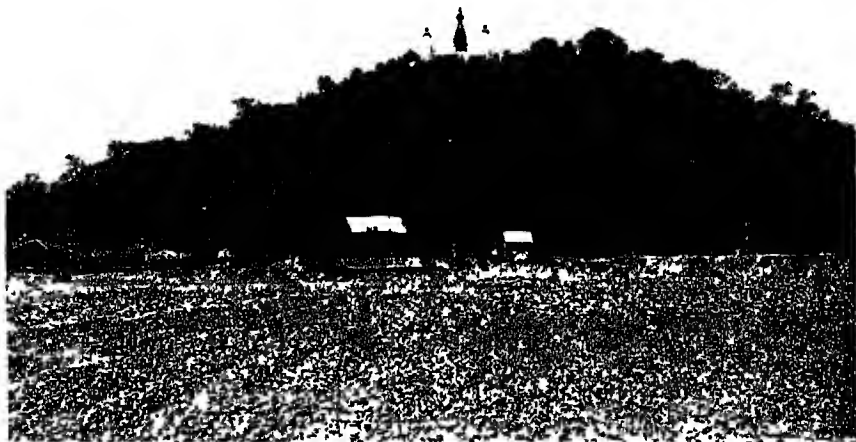
M. Lévi estimates that Mana deva reigned between A.D. 496 and 524. During this period—assisted no doubt by the attack of the White Huns to the south—he had been able to prevent the absorption of his country by the Gupta dynasty. No doubt he found it convenient to accept the nominal patronage of the sovereigns of Patna, just as it was no real infringement of Nepal's independence that, several centuries later, the Mogul Emperors of Delhi gave her permission to coin her own silver money,—and certainly the gift of one elephant a year in return was no great drain upon the teeming life of the Tarai.

These phantom claims to suzerainty were not uncommon among the vainglorious princes of this early and ill-informed period. The sanction given by the Gupta dynasty to the foundation of a Cingalese vihara at Buddhagaya was claimed by it as an indication of the tributary status of the distant island, but it is clear that any suggestion of vassalage would have been fiercely resented in Kandy. This form of vanity is apparent in our time also, in spite of the multiplication of means of obtaining information and the crystallization by treaty of most of the sovereign territories of the world.² It is therefore difficult to estimate the exact relations of

¹ These dispossessed tribes, like so many others in a similar plight, had retreated for safety into the mountains, and found a refuge among the almost unapproachable spurs of Mount Everest. The ranges which strike out in a southerly direction from that unconquered mass enclose unfertile though well watered valleys, and between the River Dudh-kosi and the River Arun the remains of these earliest recorded inhabitants of Nepal may still be found.

² It will be remembered that the annual subsidy paid by the Indian Government to the tribes of the Bhutan Tarai was represented to and accepted by the Dalai Lama in

Nepal with her neighbours at this period. In all probability they varied from time to time, and required a deft adjustment to the temporary supremacy of one or other. Like Korea, Nepal had on either side of her a powerful if somewhat inactive state. Just as Korea for many centuries had to steer her course between the rivalries of China and Japan until her final annexation by the latter, so Nepal probably found it convenient to make nominal concessions of small real importance both to India and Tibet. Neither of her great neighbours was anxious to risk the expense and hazard of an attack upon this mountain kingdom, the absorption of which would



SWAYAMBHUNATH FROM KATMANDU

bring it face to face with a powerful rival. For it is not improbable that even in those days the value of a buffer state was thoroughly understood. But from the point of view of Nepal, strength and tact were equally needed if a precarious sovereignty was to be maintained.¹ Mana deva had done

1903 as a proof that the entire British Empire was a vassal of that small Himalayan state. Buima is still included in Chinese maps as an integral portion of the republic. We shall have to consider in another chapter the relations between China and Nepal.

¹ We hear of a Raja of the name of Brkha deva. He was extremely pious. He died from a chill caused by a visit to the southern or Laghan stupa built by the Emperor Asoka. By mistake he was conducted to the infernal regions. But Yama, the King of Hell, rebuked his servants for having brought so good a man to his domain. He therefore returned to the earth and attributed his release to the intervention of Avalokiteswara who, he read, had once caused by his presence the suspension of the tortures of those in hell.

well; Mahi deva, his son, seems to have held his own. Of the subsequent kings Shiva deva is the most conspicuous. But there is no indication that any one of them was a ruler possessed of qualities other than prudence and piety. The unity and independence of Nepal could scarcely have survived had not a man been found gifted with more positive qualities, judgment, ambition, strength, and audacity. Such a man suddenly emerges above the nebulous clouds of Himalayan history.

Into the vexed question of the regnal years of Amshuvarman, successively councillor, *maire du palais*, and king, and the manner in which he gradually raised himself to power, it is not necessary to enter in detail. He was born about A.D. 505, and probably died in 640. He married the daughter of King Shiva deva, and seems to have been willing to keep himself in the background for many years. The only legend of note during his father-in-law's reign was the visit which is said to have been paid to Nepal by the famous calendar-maker, Vikramaditya, Emperor of Ujjain.¹ The visit of this just monarch to the Valley was marked by magnificent altruism. In order to ensure the acceptance of the famous era identified with his name—which became practically universal south of the Himalayas—Vikramaditya generously paid off the entire existing public debt of Nepal; for which reason the era is sometimes referred to in Nepalese chronicles as the era of the paying off of debts. The story of the visit of Vikramaditya is merely a picturesque way of saying that the Indian method of measuring time was adopted in Nepal about the beginning of the seventh century.

An almost impenetrable tangle of truth, legend, and falsehood prevents any adequate knowledge of the steps by which Amshuvarman, the one clear beacon in this twilight of uncertainty, shouldered his way to the throne.² It is not even sure whether Shiva deva was his immediate predecessor, his colleague upon the throne, or even his father-in-law. It seems probable that Shiva deva, anticipating Charles V, divided his country into fiefs which he granted to his relatives—Narendra deva, Bhima deva, and others—while he himself retired to a life of religious contemplation. He soon discovered, however, that he had been as much mistaken in his division of Nepal as in his belief that he had a call to a monastic life,³ and summoning

¹ He had of course died several centuries before this.

² An illustration of the untrustworthiness of the Vamshavali of Nepal is that Amshuvarman is placed by it seven hundred years earlier than his right date. As another example of the chaos that generally prevailed I may quote the Vamshavali's statement that at one time—probably at the beginning of the twelfth century, A.D.—every quarter of the town of Patan had its own Raja, while in Katmandu there were no less than twelve independent princelings. The Chronicle then goes on to say that the Thakuris ruled the country for 225 years, "but as they were very numerous their names have not been recorded."

³ Of Shiva deva it is written, that having great possessions he found it impossible to endure the strict rule that was binding upon the bhikshus, or Buddhist novices. He therefore begged his Guru, or teacher, to show him some means by which he could live

to his aid Amshuvarman, the one man of proved capacity in his reunited kingdom, gradually surrendered to him all executive power, though he retained the shadow of his former sovereignty till the year 630. Only by some such explanation can the inconsistencies that encumber this period



STEPS LEADING TO SWAYAMBHUNATH

of Nepalese history be in some measure reconciled, and the halting manner comfortably in this world and yet obtain salvation in the next. The complacent Guru found a way by which the descendants of Prince Gautama were privileged to lead the life of a layman and yet were certain of salvation. Shiva deva became so holy that his end was sudden, for one day his skull burst with the burden of holy meditation—and from it came a large jewel. Now that jewel is still preserved, but only one person at a time is allowed to view it, lest, if more than one enter the shrine, they should begin to discuss among themselves the size and shape of that jewel.

justified in which Amshuvarman seems to have laid claim to the style of king long after his actual authority was uncontested.

By birth he was a Thakuri of good family, and the Chronicle records that he was "very strong-limbed and restless, and people feared his power." To his piety and learning Hsüan Tsang testifies in the brief reference to Nepal with which the written history of the kingdom begins.¹ In the extant inscriptions in Nepal Amshuvarman enjoys, of course, the adjectives that Oriental flattery regards as common form. Even before his accession to the throne these monuments record his victories in a

¹ The first reference to the Valley of Katmandu is that found in the relation of the travels of Hsüan Tsang. It is true that he does not actually mention the word Nepal any more than it was used by his predecessor Fa-hsien, who apparently travelled only in the Nepalese Tarai. Hsüan Tsang's journeyings may not have taken him up into the foothills of the Himalayas. He may never have known either the Valley or its king though the marriage of Srong-Tsan-Gambo with a Nepalese princess took place during his stay in Northern India. But, as M. Levi notes, his record is invaluable because it definitely dates the reign of Amshuvarman. His account of Nepal is sufficiently short to be quoted in full.

"The kingdom of Ni-po-lo is about 4000 li in circumference and the capital about twenty. It is situated in the middle of snowy mountains and, indeed, presents an uninterrupted series of hills and valleys. Its soil is suited to the cultivation of grain, and abounds in flowers and fruits. One finds there red copper, yaks, and birds of the name of ming ming. Coins of red copper are used for exchange. The climate is very cold. The national character is stamped with falseness and perfidy; the inhabitants are all of a hard and savage nature: to them neither good faith nor justice nor literature appeal, but they are gifted with considerable skill in the arts. Their bodies are ugly and their faces mean. Among them there are both true believers and heretics. Buddhist convents and the temples of the Hindu gods touch each other. It is reckoned that there are about 2000 religious who study both the Greater and the Lesser Vehicle. The number of the Brahmans and of the nonconformists has never been ascertained exactly.

"The king is of the caste of the Kshatriya (T'sa-ti-li) and belongs to the Licchavi (Li-ch'e-p'o) race, a man of high character and distinguished knowledge. He has a sincere faith in Buddhism. Recently there was a king called Yang-chou-fa-mo (Amshuvarman) who was known far and wide for the steadiness of his judgment and his sagacity. He had composed himself a treatise on sacred rhythm. He encouraged learning, respected virtue, and his reputation was spread far and wide.

"To the south-east of the capital there is a little pond. If one sets it alight, a brilliant flame rises at once on the surface of the water, and if one throws other things into it, whatever they are, they burn likewise."

This last marvel—which seems to suggest that petroleum was at one time found in the Valley—is referred to also by Li I-piao and by Wang Hsüen-t'se. The latter describes the phenomenon at some length, adding the note that the fire could not be quenched by water. The name of this pool, A-ki-po-li, remains to this day. "Poli" was the nearest that the Chinese could get to "pokhri" or pool. It is now known as Ankhe Daba. He also adds that the pond is forty paces in circumference, which still applies to the smaller of the two ponds at Chargarh. There is now no suggestion of oil in this locality, and the Government would be well advised to have careful expert opinion before attempting to sink a well. But the pool of fire certainly offered the Chinese pilgrims of the seventh century the most interesting object of the Valley, and their accounts are fairly consistent of this unusual characteristic.

multitude of great battles, and extol the fact that his political virtues at home had "spread his glories over the entire earth."

At first he seems to have had no great difficulty in maintaining and extending the dominions of Shiva deva and his own authority. He transferred the court from the royal palace, which had recently been built by Shiva deva at Patan,¹ to Madhyalakhū, the modern Kailasa-Kuta, and seems to have been an assiduous builder. But he is chiefly remarkable because all that relates to him and his reign is more surely recorded than are any incidents of a previous period in Nepalese history.

It was a curious moment in the history of their country, for in copying the legends of his day Nepalese chroniclers of a far later period seem to have recognized that the ancient regime was then passing. There is a significant passage in the Vamshavalī in which is recorded a turning-point that most faiths have recognized. The old order was changing: a new and worse era was opening on the earth. "Down to the reign of this monarch the gods showed themselves plainly in bodily shape; but after his time they became invisible." The writer goes on to say that an ancient couplet had warned the world that after the residence of Vishnu on the earth for ten thousand years, of the Ganges for five thousand years, and of lesser local deities for a further twenty-five centuries, the gods would ascend to heaven. With no small pride the chronicler records that Nepal being the especially favoured resort of the gods, the deities consented to remain there three hundred years longer than the time thus fixed.

There is in this complacent note the suggestion of a wider judgment than is common in the chronicles, of a world-truth that was dimly perceived even in this remote Himalayan kingdom at the date of the composition of the originals of the Vamshavalī. Perhaps in thus claiming for Nepal the continued presence of local deities long after they had fled from India, the later composer of the Chronicle, consciously or unconsciously, was referring to the fact that the rise of Islam was almost coincident with the reign of Amshuvarman, and that, alone of the many kingdoms of the peninsula, Nepal had never had—and never has had—to submit to the drastic changes and limitations that followed in the train of a Mohammedan conquest. Nepal lies outside the blood and dust of this eternal war. The fight goes on to this day in the plains of India—goes on perhaps more bitterly than ever. Not for a day has the Mohammedan empire over India been forgotten for an instant either by the Hindus or by the Moslems. It beckons Islam day and night. It challenges Hinduism unceasingly. It is, as much as the natural antagonism between monotheism and the ranked battalions

¹ The fact that Shiva deva renamed the town Gol from its circular shape seems a direct reference to Patan. Deo Patan, across the river to the north, can never have been of a plan greatly different from that which it exhibits at present, while Patan has always prided itself on its resemblance to Shiva's chakra.

of Hindu deities, the cause—the political cause—of the undying hatred that still exists between the two creeds in India.

This persistence in Nepal of the life of ancient India, in many ways unchanged—and where changed altered only by free choice and not by the compulsion of a foreign intruder—endows Nepal with one of its most interesting characteristics. The matter is referred to elsewhere, but it is not uninteresting to note in passing that the chronicles of Nepal, in their own quaint fashion, did not fail to realize that an old religious regime in



THE HOLY WAY OF SWAYAMBHUNATH

India was finding a more permanent home in Nepal than in the country from which it sprang.

Amshuvarman found some little difficulty in the fact that he was not himself of the blood royal. He had no intention of reigning in his wife's name or even of following her counsels, and a certain amount of dexterous adjustment was necessary to reconcile the royal conventions of Nepal—which seem to have had some resemblance to the ancestor worship of China—with those employed by his predecessor. Perhaps of all the learned and intricate investigations carried out by M. Sylvain Lévi into the tangled chronicles of Nepal, those by which he has verified the place in history and

in time of Amshuvarman are the most remarkable and the most admirable. He has dealt with a master's hand with the existing inscriptions, and in spite of the points that still remain to be cleared up, we may accept as final the verdict of the French savant in all that is known about this important period in Nepalese history.

If we may exclude Vikramaditya—who, we have seen, had been in his grave for centuries before Shiva deva and Amshuvarman were born—the most remarkable visitor to Nepal during this reign was Srong-Tsan-Gambo, King of Tibet. The Tibetans regard this sovereign as the political founder not merely of Lhasa but of their country—and with some justice. That he was a successful administrator and an ambitious soldier is clear; but his easy successes against China are probably to be attributed as much to the dissolute incapacity of Tai Tsung as to his own strength. The visit of this man to Nepal was destined profoundly to influence the future of his country, and it was through a woman that the transformation was brought about. The beauty of Princess Bri-btsun, daughter of Amshuvarman, enthralled the stranger, and, without any recorded opposition on the part of her father, he carried her off as his bride to his new capital, Lhasa, in 639. He brought away from Nepal more than he knew: for Bri-btsun—helped, if we may believe the legend, by several images and by a wonder-working begging-bowl of lapis lazuli that had once belonged to the Master himself—introduced Buddhism into her husband's country—of which for the last thirteen hundred years it has been the recognized home. She soon received assistance in this task from an unexpected and probably rather distasteful source. Nothing would satisfy Srong-Tsan-Gambo but a second and far more ambitious alliance. He sent to the Emperor Tai Tsung a demand for the hand of an Imperial princess of China. This insolence roused the Son of Heaven from his life of dilettantism and luxury: the request was met by a point-blank refusal. Thereupon Srong-Tsan-Gambo, who had already advanced his standards into Koko-nor and Kansu, invaded the very heart of the Celestial Empire and, according to the Tibetan legends, threatened, if he did not take actually, Tai Tsung's capital, Ch'ang-an. A Chinese princess, Wen-cheng, was then reluctantly surrendered to him in 641; and, accompanied by every necessity of her faith—including an image of Gautama as a young prince¹—she set off on the long and hard journey to Lhasa with her new husband. Once arrived there, she collaborated so earnestly with Queen Bri-btsun that Lamaism canonized them both, and

¹ It is said that the cathedral of Lhasa, the Jo-kang, was originally built to enshrine this image. If so, the wealth of jewelry that adorns the later "golden Buddha" may be explained. Although the figure is that of an ascetic, who is of course forbidden to wear jewels of any kind, the incrustation of diamonds, turquoises, coral, amber, and gold is not unnatural if the shrine was originally built in honour of Gautama as a young and splendid prince.

gave them each a reincarnation and a place of high honour in the pantheon of northern Buddhism.¹

✓ But it was not Buddhism only that was introduced into Tibet by this marriage. Nepal, now become almost a dependent state of the Tibetan empire of Srong-Tsan-Gambo, deeply influenced the life of the new Tibetan capital. Her arts, her literature, and to some extent her crafts and industries were eagerly assimilated, and it is doubtless due to Princess Bri-btsun's earlier influence that the art of India rather than that of China has remained dominant in Tibetan craftsmanship. ✓

Of the death of Amshuvarman we know nothing. But it proved the beginning of a long period of confusion in Nepal, of which no satisfactory record has been handed down to us. Of lists of kings there are enough indeed and far more than enough, and here and there an incident marks uncertainly the course of the chronicles, but it is impossible to draw any satisfactory picture of the political state of Nepal during the following centuries. The ordinary life and habits of the people remained as they had been described by Hsüan Tsang and later by Wang Hsien-t'se.²

Of King Narendra deva, who entertained Li I-piao and Wang Hsien-t'se, little is known except from inscriptions, which within their narrow limits support the account of Nepal which the Chinese envoys brought back to China. It is to be regretted that Wang Hsien-t'se's final record of his travels (665) has been lost, and that we are dependent upon the quotations included by the monk Tao-che in his great compilation, Fa-yuan-chao-lin, for the meagre details that have survived. Shiva deva II, the successor and perhaps son of Narendra deva, makes a passing appearance in the fitful limelight of history because, it seems, he married the grand-daughter of

¹ No feminine figures in all the mythology of Lamaism—if the “terrible” form of Palden-Lhamo be excepted—are better known than those of the White and Green Taras. The latter is the embodiment of the Nepalese queen—probably because she had brought over from Nepal a miraculous sandal-wood statue of Tara. She is represented as a graceful woman, seated on the usual lotus plinth and daintily playing with one or perhaps two flowering lotus stalks. The White Tara, of exactly similar design, recalls in like manner the Chinese princess. De Blonay and Sylvain Lévi claim that the White Tara represents Princess Bri-btsun, and the Green Tara Princess Wen-cheng. Waddell contradicts this. As the evidence seemed to be about equally strong on each side, I made special enquiries in Peking during the spring of 1924, and Baron A. Stael Holstein, the well-known Asiatic philologist and ethnological expert, questioned a recently arrived Lama from Lhasa, whose knowledge of Lamaic tradition is probably second to none. This savant decided the question in the most positive manner. Bri-btsun is the Green Tara, and Wen-cheng is the White Tara. Waddell is correct.

It is remarkable that throughout their joint lives the Nepalese princess was always given the first place and precedence over the Chinese wife. Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 23, seems to be mistaken here.

² It is remarkable that during these dark ages the art of Nepal maintained its high standard. The two plates from Mr. Coomaraswami's *Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism*, illustrating the bronze work of Nepal in the ninth century, should be studied.

Aditya-sena, Emperor of Magadha. This places his reign at the beginning of the third quarter of the seventh century, and he seems to have survived until A.D. 714.¹

The story of the Valley now traverses a period of darkness almost impenetrable except for the embarrassing inconsistencies and legends of the Nepal Chronicle and the occurrence of a few names and dates that generally serve only to trouble still further the existing chaos. The employment of several different eras in Nepal at the same time completes the confusion that clouds over this period of Nepalese history. Even inter-

¹ The following record may be of use in roughly localizing the sequence of traditional and historical events in the early centuries of Nepalese history. It should be remembered that except in a few instances these dates are merely approximate.

B.C.

563 Gautama, or Siddhartha, afterwards the historic Buddha Sakya Muni, born at Rumminder in Nepal

520 Sakya Muni visits the Valley.

360 Bhadrabahu, the Jain teacher, dies in the Valley.

250 The Emperor Asoka visits Nigilva, Rumminder, and the Valley, where he leaves Princess Charumati.

150 References to Nepal in Indian literature.

A.D.

340 Nepal is mentioned as one of Samudra Gupta's conquests on the Asokan pillar at Allahabad.

406 Fa-hsien visits Rumminder.

417 Visa deva born.

437 Machendra visits the Valley.

440 Shankara deva born.

460 Dharmadeva born.

480 Manadeva born, and Vasubandhu visits the Valley.

496 Manadeva succeeds. His mother Rajyavati is Regent.

497 Rajyavati dies.

524 Manadeva dies and Mahideva succeeds.

539 Mahideva dies and Vasanta deva succeeds.

550 Shiva deva born.

565 Amshuvarman born.

585 Shiva deva succeeds.

595 Amshuvarman joint ruler with Shiva deva. He marries Shiva deva's daughter.

635 Visit of Hsuan Tsang to Rumminder.

639 Princess Bri-btsun, daughter of Amshuvarman, marries Srong-Tsan-Gambo, King of Tibet; introduces Buddhism into Tibet, and with her husband founds Lhasa.

640 Amshuvarman dies. Srong-Tsan-Gambo becomes King of Nepal.

641 Srong-Tsan-Gambo marries Wen-ch'eng, a Chinese Princess.

643 Vishnu Gupta usurps. Mission sent to China.

647 Visits of Li I-piao, Wang Hsien-t'se, Tao-fang, Tao-cheng, Hsien-t'ai, Matisimha.

655 Hsien-hoei.

651 Narendra sends a mission to China.

657 Second visit of Wang Hsien-t'se.

665 Wang Hsien-t'se writes his narrative.

communication with India seems to have failed, and we only catch faint echoes of Nepal from time to time as a vassal of Tibet. At this period the Tibetan empire was of an extent and importance that has been generally overlooked by historians of Asia.¹

About this time the following incident is said to have occurred which may have an interest for other than Asiatic students. A certain king of Kashmir, named Jayapida, flushed with other conquests, attempted to subdue Nepal also. The Nepalese sovereign, Aramudi, went to meet him and, as usual, secured a notable victory. The army of Jayapida was cut to pieces, and the intruder himself was shut up in a remote tower on the



COURTYARD OF SWAYAMBHUNATH

edge of the Black Gandak. But one of his ministers, wandering in search of his master, heard the songs of Kashmir dolefully intoned from the barred windows of the tower, and at the cost of his own life enabled Jayapida to escape. M. Lévi regards this predecessor of Richard Cœur de Lion as a Tibetan, and he believes that the tale may possibly reflect an actual occurrence.

In 879 or 880 Nepal added to the confusion of her chronology by introducing yet another *point de départ* for her chronicles. The new era no doubt is an echo of some great upheaval in the history of the country,

¹ In 760 the Tibetans captured Ko-long. In 763 Ch'ang-an itself, the capital of China, was occupied. In 786 the province of Shen-si fell into their hands, and four years later the far distant cities of Urumtsi, in N.W. Mongolia, and Kutchu were taken by them.

but, in spite of the earnest attempts of modern reconstructors of this period, nothing is really known of its origin. We only surmise from the introduction of a new era that some internal convulsion, greater perhaps than any that Nepal had yet known, had taken place.¹

Among the phantom kings who about this time flit like grey moths across the fitful beam of the Vamshavalis, only making darkness visible, the name of Gunakama stays a moment longer in the light. About the year 723 he is credited with the foundation of Katmandu.² To anyone who knows the Valley it is clear that accurate information about the foundation of such a town is practically impossible. Katmandu undoubtedly existed as a riverside hamlet long before the Wooden House was built or a king deigned to hold his court there. It is manifestly impossible that in a valley so thickly peopled with villages the possibilities of a level, convenient, and well-watered terrain by the Vishnumati, and within an hour or two's walk of both the important religious centres of Swayambhunath and Pashpati, should have remained uncolonized. The mere fact that it stands precisely between—and almost in the middle between—these holy places³ is enough to have invested it with importance and a population long before any of the official dates connected with its foundation.

But though we know little of Nepalese history, it will be remembered that we have China's impartial record of her commercial prosperity during these dark ages. Even more important than this fluctuating benefit was the gradual withdrawal to Nepal, and through Nepal, of the mass of northern Indian Buddhists who could brook neither the arrogance of the Mohammedan conquerors nor the malicious oppression of Brahmanism. Meanwhile, the succession to the Valley's throne seems to have been decided by the intrigues of surrounding chieftains. It was an age of jarring feudalities, and when Atisha, the greatest of later Tibetan pandits, went on pilgrimage to Swayambhunath in 1040, he was escorted thence to a sovereign of Nepal who lived far to the west in Palpa.

Again the curtain descends upon the scene. In 1097 a southern Rajput named Nanya deva grasped the crown of Nepal. He founded a dynasty

¹ The disagreement of the experts is discouraging, and it is only as a tentative suggestion, not as an explanation, that the coincidence of this new era with the first year of Raghava deva is put forward. M. Lévi has had the ingenuity to collate the new era with the date of the assassination of Lang-darma, the Julian of Tibet. In the chaos which followed Nepal may have been able to regain her independence. It is impossible, without further evidence, to decide the point.

² Tradition ascribes its long narrow curve to the wish of its founder to honour the sword of Devi or of Manjusri, but its position along the bank of the winding Vishnumati would in any case have caused this rough resemblance to a scimitar.

³ The British Legation is built on a spot exactly midway between Pashpati and the great Buddhist shrine of Swayambhunath.

named from his capital Simraon, a town in the Tarai twenty miles east-south-east of Raxaul. He came from the Karnatic, and the fantastic philology of another generation which identified "Newar" with "Nair" should not restrain us from noting the existence of continual links between Nepal and the far south. These may have been religious only, but they seem to have left a still distinguishable influence upon the manners and customs of the mountain state. It is tantalizing that the Vamshavalis omit all reference to this dynasty. Nepal is rated as a vassal of the Chalukyan Emperor in 1162.¹ That it was ever actually under any such sovereignty may be doubted. But the addition of her name added a finish and even a flourish, to the high-sounding pomp of words that flattered Indian kings. Nepal, the remote and legendary home of pilgrimage, served as Jerusalem served in mediaeval Europe to gild more than one royal escutcheon.

After the disappearance of the Simraon line Mana deva II appears for a moment, and about 1138 subsides again into the friendly and perhaps forced obscurity of his namesake's monastery. It should, however, be noted as a curious characteristic of Nepalese abdications that they rarely prevented the retention by the ex-prince of a nominal and sometimes a real share in his successor's authority.

No useful purpose would be served by any imaginative reconstruction of the tangled and broken threads of Nepalese history at this time. The condition of this mountain region must have been somewhat similar to that of Scotland in the days of its warring clans. And unless the distant authorities of Tibet or India thought it worth their while to maintain the international highways which passed through Nepal, it seems unlikely that even as a means of communication with India did any importance attach to the collection of small jarring kingships that established themselves and were in turn destroyed in and around the little Valley of Katmandu.

But during this troubled period we may trace the first beginnings of a new dynasty that was destined to play an important part in the later history of Nepal. The name of the Mallas appears from very early days among the tribes of India. They seem to have developed an individual existence in the old state of Kamarupa, and the code of Manu gives them rank beside the Licchavis as one of the castes that could claim Kshatriyan descent. Their name is cut on the earliest of the inscriptions of Nepal—the pillar at Changu Narayan which records the successes of Mana deva and his mother in 496.

In the year 889, nine years after the establishment of the Nepal era,

¹ An unexpected corroboration of the semi-legendary suzerainty of the Chalukyan emperors over Nepal is found in the name of a king, Someshvara deva, who was born during the reign of Someshvara III. About this time the Mallas appear in the front rank of Nepalese princes.

Nanya (or Nand) deva from the South Karnatic country is said in the Vamshavali to have introduced the Shaka era and to have expelled the "Malla Raja." At the close of the tenth century two Malla chieftains founded the village of Champagaon, which still exists in the south of the Valley. Towards the middle of the thirteenth century the Mallas are found established both in Katmandu and Patan, and the story of the foundation of Bhatgaon by Ananda Malla at this time is commonly accepted by the Nepalese.¹

¹ But Bhatgaon had long been a flourishing rival to the old capital of Patan. It was probably founded about the year 865



CHAPTER III

THE MALLAS

OF the origin of the Malla family not much is known.¹ As has already been said in the last chapter, they belonged to one of those hereditary landowning clans in India that are at once the challenge and the despair of students. It was in the Malla district at Kusinara—the modern Kasia—that Gautama Buddha died,² and the name recurs at intervals as that of a traditional and well established tribe that had neither risen nor sunk much in the social scale in the course of centuries. With the Licchavis, they carried on a desultory hostility which secured for them the doubtful distinction of being included on the pillar set up in A.D. 496 by Mana deva and his mother Rajyavati at Changu Narayan. This among other triumphs commemorated the storming of the capital of the Mallas by the young king. They were of great antiquity. The code of Manu has recorded them side by side with the Licchavis as an oblique caste of the Kshatriyas, and the literature of India bears a scanty but consistent witness to their position on the frontier between Audh and Nepal, and the references in later inscriptions to the special levy required from Nepalese landowners either to buy off or to defend the country from the Mallas, reminds an English reader of the "Dane-gelt" that England was raising at no very different time for no very different purpose. As we have seen, a Malla, resident in Patan, founded the town of Champagaon in the south of the Valley about the year 991.³ It is curious that in the far south of the

¹ The name is derived, according to Nepalese chroniclers, from the fact that Ari deva was attending a prize fight at the moment his son was born. The name Malla, or champion bruiser, thus given to the child and his descendants, was extended retrospectively to Ari deva himself and to his father, Jayashi deva.

² Buddha's invitation to the Mallas of Kusinara to visit him upon his death-bed is a witness to the importance of the race—of which the Master himself championed the ancient repute when Ananda demurred to the wretched nature of this village of mud hovels which was to witness the Great Passing. Buddha explained that Kusinara had been the residence of King Sudassana, a mighty and virtuous monarch, and at his orders Ananda bade the Mallas come family by family and salute the Light of the World before it was extinguished for ever. So at this last sad audience the Mallas alone were present.

³ There is an assumption of the title of "Malla" by certain victorious fighters, which must not be confused with this family name. By a coincidence, it anticipates almost to the letter the boast painted in a later day upon the tomb of Edward I of England—"Malleus Scotorum" (the Hammer of the Scots).

peninsula the city of Kanchi, from which the first legendary king of Nepal, Dharmadatta, was said to have come, had as its rulers for some time a family of Mallas.



TEMPLE OF MIN-NATH, PATAN

According to some modern historians Ari deva Malla reigned at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and was succeeded by Abhaya Malla, whose two sons, Jaya deva Malla and Ananda Malla, divided the royal

inheritance. The former retained Katmandu and Patan; the latter founded Bhatgaon and created several new towns outside the Valley to the east. As a matter of fact, this man's name was Ananta, and he had neither part nor lot in the foundation of Bhatgaon, or in the establishment of the new Nepalese era which has also been credited to him. It is also doubtful whether Jaya deva was his brother.

Mukunda deva was the next to overrun the Valley, and was accompanied by the Khas and the Magars. This was but a brief triumph, and Nepal emerged again—only to fall once more, and this time to a descendant of an earlier conqueror. In 1326 Hari Singh deva of Tirhout mounted the throne. An offshoot of the Karnatic dynasty, and long established at Simraon on the frontier, he fled from Gheyas-ud-din Tughlak into the hills, and there without difficulty recaptured a new kingdom. Bhatgaon surrendered to him without a struggle. Then, 227 years after their capture by his ancestor and predecessor, Nanya deva, Patan and Katmandu also fell into his hands.

Hari Singh seems to have helped himself freely to the temple treasures of the conquered cities. But he did not remain long in the country. Gheyas-ud-din Tughlak died in Delhi a few months later, and after founding a nominal dynasty in the Valley, Hari Singh returned to Tirhout and left Nepal to the uncertain control of his descendants for a period which did not survive the century.

Once again the problem of the sovereignty of the Valley recurs. In 1384 a Chinese Emperor, Hang Wu, appears upon the scene. He sent two emissaries to the King of Nepal whose name was Mati Singh. It appears in Chinese under the form Ma-ta-na, with the addition of "lo-mo," which is due to the current belief in China that every one of the sovereigns of Nepal was a lama. The Chinese envoy brought an official seal, confirming Mati Singh in his kingly office. In return the Nepalese sent to Peking a gift containing golden shrines, sacred books, and thoroughbreds.¹

As late as 1415 Shyama Singh, the last of Hari Singh's descendants, although he was by this time an outcast, again received from the Chinese Emperor a seal of confirmation in his royal office.

Obscure though the history of Hari Singh's descendants is, their continuance upon the throne between 1387 and 1418 is attested by the definite and trustworthy evidence of the Chinese chronicles, although Jaya Sthiti Malla was certainly established in Katmandu and Patan for a considerable portion of these thirty years. He had married Rajalla devi, daughter of Nayaka devi and of Jagat Singh, and in the name of both of the royal

¹ This exchange of missions was repeated in 1390 and 1399. Yung-lo in 1413 returns the visit of the Nepalese in 1409. King "Chakosinti" of Nepal sends return gifts in 1414 and 1418. There was no further mission to China till after the war of 1792.

families of Nepal he occupied the throne from 1380 to 1394 or 1395, and possibly for a longer period.

It is remarkable that a king of the Hari Singh stock, Jaya Singh Rama, seems to have assumed the crown of the Valley about the year 1395. The two ruling families had perhaps some such relation one to the other as that which now exists between the family of the King of Nepal and that of the hereditary Maharaja Marshal. All power probably lay in the hands of Jaya Sthiti Malla and his sons, though in such cases as the arrival of an embassy from China or an interregnum in the succession of the other family, the representative of Hari Singh naturally came to the front.



TEMPLE OF DATTATREYA AT BHATGAON

Jaya Sthiti Malla and his most distinguished son Jyotir left a lasting impression upon the Nepalese nation; indeed, their influence upon the social organization of Nepal remains to-day. They introduced for the first time a definite Brahman predominance into the daily life of the country, and seem to have been capable and judicious sovereigns.

The former king left three sons, who at first governed the kingdom jointly from Bhatgaon; but about 1413 Jyotir, the youngest of the three, assumed a supreme and sole authority. He seems to have been a man of unexpected religious impartiality, for, in spite of his Brahmanical tendencies, he restored the Buddhist shrine of Swayambhunath which had suffered severely from an earthquake in the previous century. He died in

1427 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Yaksha Malla, who, if we are to believe Kirkpatrick, extended his territory so as to include Tihout, Gorkha, Gaya,¹ and even Digarchi or Shigatse in Tibet, besides finally crushing out his rivals in the Valley itself. If these claims were at any time justified, it is clear that at Yaksha Malla's death the newly acquired territories had again been lost. There is no reference to any of them in the carefully limited domains which he then devised to his children. It was this monarch who in 1480, after a brilliant reign of fifty-three years, conceived the disastrous idea of dividing his kingdom into four parts. Bhatgaon itself he gave to his eldest son, Raya Malla. The second son, Rana Malla, received the principality of Banepa; the third, Ratna Malla, was given Katmandu, while Patan itself, if we are to believe certain records, was given by Yaksha Malla to his daughter. This was, however, only a temporary diversion, for Patan soon returned to a natural union with its neighbour Katmandu.

This fatal mistake of dividing up the Valley of Nepal into three minor and bitterly jealous principalities proved ultimately to be the ruin of the Mallas. Already in the Vamshavali the King of Gorkha² had made his appearance, and the mention of his name is always associated with some menace to the existing regime of the Valley.³

¹ Unless this indicates some unknown district in the Indian Tarai, the mention of the name may signify that a small enclave of territory had been reserved for Nepal in the grounds of Buddhagaya in Bihar.

² Where the town of Gorkha is mentioned, the original spelling has been kept, but the spelling "Gurkha" for the ruling race in Nepal is so familiar that it has been thought well to retain it.

³ These predestined Gurkha invaders of Nepal were, like Hari Singh, driven from their home in Rajputana by the steam-roller of the Mohammedan invasion. Some of them--and there seems no reason to doubt Tod's assertion that they came from the Rapputs of Chitor--made their way into the west of Nepal, seeking in these mountains the shelter which was denied them in the plains. They seem to have arrived there about the time that Hari Singh fled before the Moslem conquerors to Tihout. As we have seen, Hari Singh invaded the valley of Katmandu to the east, the men of Chitor moved more slowly upon Gorkha to the west.

These western invaders seem to have adopted a policy of pacific penetration, though this theory is perhaps based more upon the omissions of the Chronicle than any direct evidence. In any case they easily secured the place from which their descendants took their name. The town of Gorkha, which to-day consists of the ruins of a fort, the remains of a small princely residence, and a village of no great size, was occupied by them, and for several generations they were content to consolidate their interests in a comparatively narrow sphere. Of the history of the Gurkha princes during this period there are almost no records. It has been said, possibly with truth, that they intermarried with the upper castes of Central Nepal, and even that special regulations were sanctioned for the recognition of their descendants as members of the Kshatriya or Rajput caste. It is impossible to obtain any certainty, but we may agree with the writer of *Rajasthan* that, with the endorsement of the Brahmins--the only judges in this matter--the status

KATMANDU

It was to the third son of Yaksha Malla that Katmandu fell. Ratna seems to have imitated Jacob beside his father's death-bed, and obtained thereby a semi-divine formula of invocation which invested him with a certain hierarchical authority. M. Lévi draws a little picture of the difficulty which confronted Ratna in taking over the charge of his new State. A dozen Thakurs were in control, and Ratna therefore without hesitation poisoned them. Outside the Valley the Thakurs of Nayakot believed themselves strong enough to challenge his authority. The challenge took the curious form of a repainting of the statue of the goddess Rajyeshvari without asking Ratna's permission. He at once declared war upon Nayakot, and, after a complete victory in 1491, he brought back a piled-up mass of flowers and fruits which he dedicated to the shrines of Pashpati. He afterwards had trouble with the Tibetans and the Bhutanese, and it was in connection with assistance then rendered to him by the chief of Palpa that the endowment of Brahmans in Katmandu was begun—a matter that it will be seen was destined to play a not unimportant part in the later history of the country. From this moment the slow interpenetration of Hinduism and the popular Buddhism, which up to this moment had been the undisputed creed of Nepal, may be dated. Perhaps to religious tolerance but more probably to an appreciation of the advantages of increased trade may be ascribed the permission given by Ratna to Mohammedans to visit and reside in Nepal.

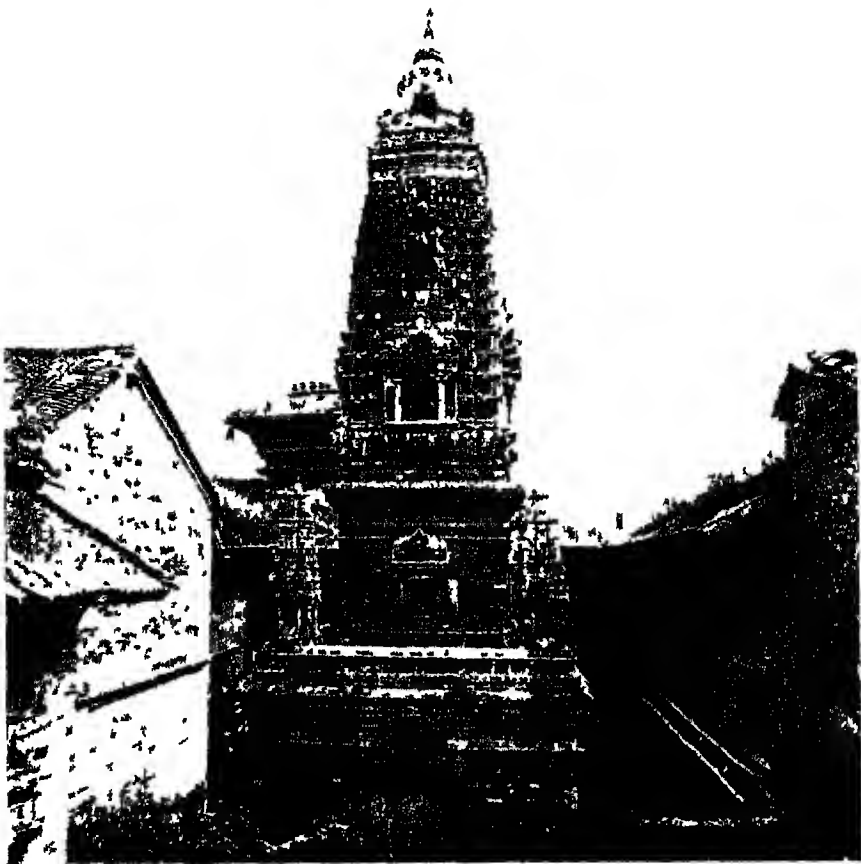
His successor, Amara, was both artist and archaeologist, but no record is left of his activity. After him a series of comparatively unimportant princes is marked only by the visit of Mahendra to the Indian Emperor Humayan at Delhi, to whom he brought a white swan and some falcons. In return he received permission to coin silver mohars. They have remained the standard and the unit of Nepalese coinage to this day.¹ It is curious to notice that, according to Kirkpatrick, Mahendra placed upon his earliest coins a "representation of Lhasa"—probably a rough suggestion of the palace of the Dalai Lama—which, it need not be said, was at that date

of the military and princely caste of India was unquestionably enjoyed by the invaders of Nepal.

Elsewhere will be found genealogies of the royal and prime ministerial families. It may be pointed out that these are in no sense the fanciful creation of professional genealogists. Even less are they due to the easy flattery of a Court scribe. It will be noted that although, as has been said, the Brahmanic acceptance of the Rajput descent is practically a final proof of this connection, there is no attempt to insert any names for which definite and existing authority is not available. In view of the accepted tradition of an unbroken Rajput descent of both families, this unwillingness to base the records of this Chronicle upon anything but ascertained fact is notable.

¹ An appendix dealing with the coinage of Nepal will be found in vol. ii, p. 305.

by no means the magnificent structure which it is to-day. It was this prince who built the temple of Taleju in Katmandu and largely increased



MAHABUDDHA TEMPLE, PATAN

the area and buildings of the town. The Vamshavali notes that for the first time "people were allowed to build high houses in the city."

During the reign of his son Sada Shiva¹ the very remarkable temple

¹ According to Sir Clements Markham, Ralph Fitch, a traveller in India in 1583, although he does not mention the name of Nepal, refers to the routes through that

in Patan called Mahabuddha was built. One Jivaraj, a Buddhist devotee, returned to Buddhgaya, where he had been born, and spent some years under the shadow of the temple there. On his return to the Valley he determined to build a facsimile on a smaller scale of the temple at Buddhgaya. This is in existence to this day, and to anyone who is interested in the migration of architectural theories from one country to another, it is of interest.¹

Sada Shiva provoked a revolution as much by his carelessness of the interests of the people as by his personal selfishness. He allowed his horses, of which he was inordinately proud, to trespass upon and destroy the crops of his people; and his immorality, which extended to the capture of almost any good-looking woman in the Valley, led at last to a general revolt. The people of Katmandu rose in a body and literally beat him out of his palace and out of his kingdom. Sada Shiva fled to Bhatgaon, where his kinsmen kept him as a prisoner until the day when, in some manner that is not related, he ceased to exist. With him his dynasty in Katmandu came to an end.

In his place Shiva Singh (1585-1614) was elected king. The Nepal Chronicle asserts that Shiva Singh was a brother of Sada Shiva, but M. Lévi thinks it probable that the new prince was elected as the most distinguished

country which permitted the exchange of Tibetan and Chinese commodities with those of India.

¹ It is difficult to get a clear view of this temple in Patan as it is closely hemmed in by the vihara, or cloisters, where the Buddhist monks are housed. To anyone who is acquainted with Buddhgaya itself, the differences between Jivaraj's imitation and the original are as remarkable as the resemblances. The surface of the building is covered to excess with ornamentation, and the same criticism applies also to the spire. It is clear that no drawings of any kind were brought away from Buddhgaya by Jivaraj, and the result is a mere record of the recollections of the founder. The proportions are incorrect, but there has survived an unquestionable resemblance in detail which it might perhaps have been as well for the restorers of Buddhgaya to take into their consideration before deciding upon the new form that the temple should assume. I do not mean to say that the Mahabuddha shrine in Patan necessarily is more like the old Buddhgaya than is the present Buddhgaya. But it might have been useful to have drawings of this Nepalese temple in deciding such cardinal matters as the relative height of the four lesser chaityas which surround the main spire.

In this connection it may be noted that there is another temple erected in similar circumstances by another returned devotee from Buddhgaya. This temple lies a mile or two outside the north-west corner of Peking, and presents an even more astonishing perversion of the proportions of Buddhgaya. The matter is more interesting perhaps from a historical and human outlook than from an architectural point of view. We have here two attempted copies made by men who had been for years devotees, and therefore constantly and without interruption living under the very shadow of Buddhgaya. On his return to his own country, each produced a curious parody of a structure that they had not merely seen for so long, but had been invited almost to worship. It is an interesting test of the validity of human memory, and nothing perhaps is a better illustration of the danger of trusting to any Oriental recollection than these two echoes of Buddhgaya.

representative of the Thakurs of the Valley and its neighbourhood. Like many another sovereign he found his consort, Ganga Rani, of more energy and efficiency than himself, and he allowed her to direct the religious side of State affairs. The temples of Pashpati, Changu Narayan, and Swayambhunath were all restored during her lifetime.¹ The Rani must have made herself acceptable to her deities for, at the moment of her death, so loud a noise of lamentation arose from Pashpati that the hearers thereof became deaf.

During the lifetime of Shiva Singh there had been a palace revolution which resulted in the separation of Katmandu from Patan. Hari Hara Singh drove out his elder brother—who took refuge in the house of an outcast dhobi of Katmandu. This man's daughters rendered him such service that he undertook to raise the caste of the washer folk. Probably there is no real truth in this legend; but it is interesting to note that in Nepal the question of caste was apparently not one entirely for the Brahmans to decide. His brother, Hari Hara, crossed the river and assumed the dignity of King of Patan in 1603, eleven years before the death of his father.

Shiva Singh's eldest son, Lakshmi-Narsingh, succeeded his father upon the throne of Katmandu. It is with this Raja that the modern name of Katmandu appears in the Nepalese Chronicle. It is worth quoting in the form there given: "In this reign, on the day of Machendranath's jatra, the Tree of Paradise was looking on at the ceremony in the form of a man, and, being recognized by a certain Biseta, was caught by him, and was not released until he promised the Biseta that, through his influence, he would be enabled to build a satal with the wood of a single tree. On the fourth day after this, the Tree of Paradise sent a sal tree, and the Biseta, after getting the Raja's permission, had the tree cut up, and with the timber built the satal in Kantipur, and named it Madu-satal. From this being built of the timber of one tree it was also named Kathmado. This satal was not consecrated, because the Tree of Paradise had told the Biseta that, if it were, the wood would walk away."²

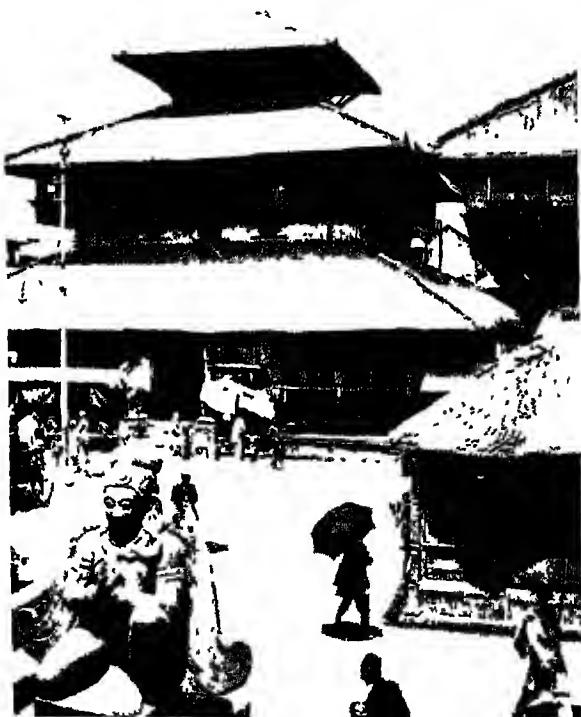
Bhima Malla, one of the kazis of Lakshmi-Narsingh, was distantly connected with the princely household. He was a great merchant. He established thirty-two shops in Katmandu, and sent his representatives into Tibet. He, in person, extended his operations as far as Lhasa itself, and besides carrying on a profitable commercial enterprise there, he

¹ It is difficult in these early chronicles to distinguish between fact and fiction. It is recorded of this princess that she caused a rope of honour to be suspended between a temple in Pashpati and the palace in Katmandu. This is a distance of nearly three miles.

² This is the building which has given its name to the city of Katmandu. Local tradition asserts that the smaller house over the way—i.e., on the left-hand side of the road leading out of the Darbar square—was also made from the timber of the same tree.

secured for Nepal the administration of the property of Nepalese subjects who died in Lhasa. It is recorded in the Chronicle that he induced Tibet to sanction the transference of Kuti, and therefore the Kuti Pass, to Nepal.

Bhima Malla, after his return from Lhasa, seems to have interested himself too much in politics. In his wish to extend his king's authority



THE WOODEN HOUSE FROM WHICH
KATMANDU TAKES ITS NAME

over "the whole country" he laid himself open to the charge of wishing for the throne himself. Lakshmi-Narsingh put him to death. The Chronicle makes the curious note that, as his wife immolated herself on her husband's funeral pyre, she uttered the curse: "May there never be sound judgment in this Darbar." Lakshmi-Narsingh afterwards expressed regret for his action, but did not so escape his fate. He became insane, and though he lived afterwards for eighteen years, the government was entrusted to the hands of his son, one of the most distinguished of Malla

princes. It is noted in the history that with the insanity of Lakshmi-Narsingh there died out the knowledge of the famous formula of invocation of which Ratna had cheated his elder brother.

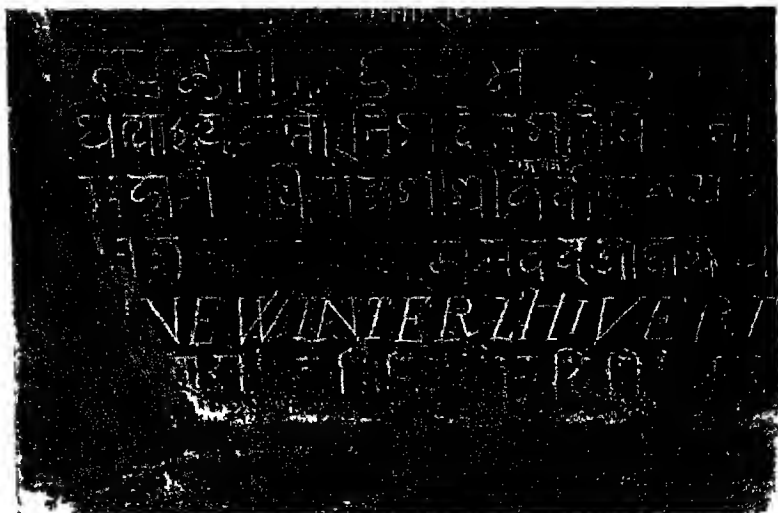
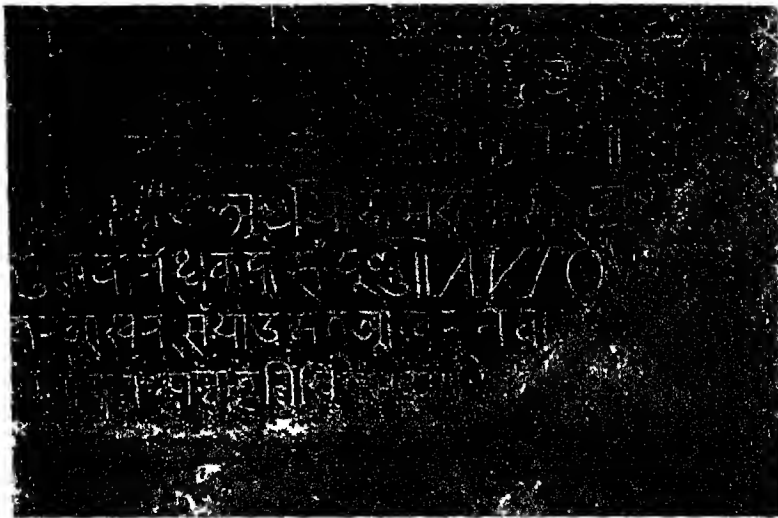
Pratapa Malla ascended the throne in 1639. He seems to have been a man of character and learning. It is possible to disentangle from the confused story of his religious enthusiasms a fairly complete picture of a man who, during sixty-one years, maintained the independence and apparently the prosperity also of his kingdom. Personally he must have been a man of no little literary pride. He caused coins to be struck on which his title to fame is based rather upon his poetical achievements than anything else. Vanity was probably his besetting sin, and of it there remains to this day one of the most curious records that exist in the world. Set into the side of the Darbar square of Katmandu is a series of inscriptions cut in black stone, dating from 1654. As the Chronicle relates: "He composed a prayer to Kalika and had it inscribed in fifteen different characters, all of which he had studied." Among these fifteen different languages occur three words which, in a manner, for reasons which have never yet been properly explained, recall Europe in the midst of this remote Himalayan kingdom. There are two words in French—*automne* and *l'hiver*—and there is the single English word—*winter*. For what conceivable reason except his own personal vanity and a wish to impose upon his people, Pratapa had these words engraved, it is impossible now to guess. A reproduction of them will be found on p. 46.¹ Within a few yards of this inscription stands the image of the monkey god Hanuman, guardian of the main door into the palace.

It was this Raja also who originated the legend that no Raja of Katmandu should in any circumstances visit the famous semi-submerged recumbent figure of Buda-Nilkantha. It would be curious to know whether at this time the historic Prince Gautama had been generally accepted as a reincarnation of Vishnu. The author was assured in Katmandu that the reason why the King was forbidden to visit Nilkantha was that His Majesty was himself a reincarnation of Vishnu, and that it was impossible for the two to meet. Whatever the truth may be, it is beyond question that the King does not visit the great figure, though he is allowed to go to Balaji and pay his respects to the similar but smaller image there.

In 1640 the authority of Lhasa seems to have been recognized in the matter of Swayambhunath. The enormous central timber which rises from the interior of the stupa and supports the upper structure of gilt copper, was renewed by the Tibetans.

Pratapa was a young man, and perhaps his aesthetic perceptions contributed to a certain amorousness which seems to have scandalized his

¹ It should perhaps be noted that this inscription has been misrepresented in Dr. Wright's edition of the Nepalese Chronicles.



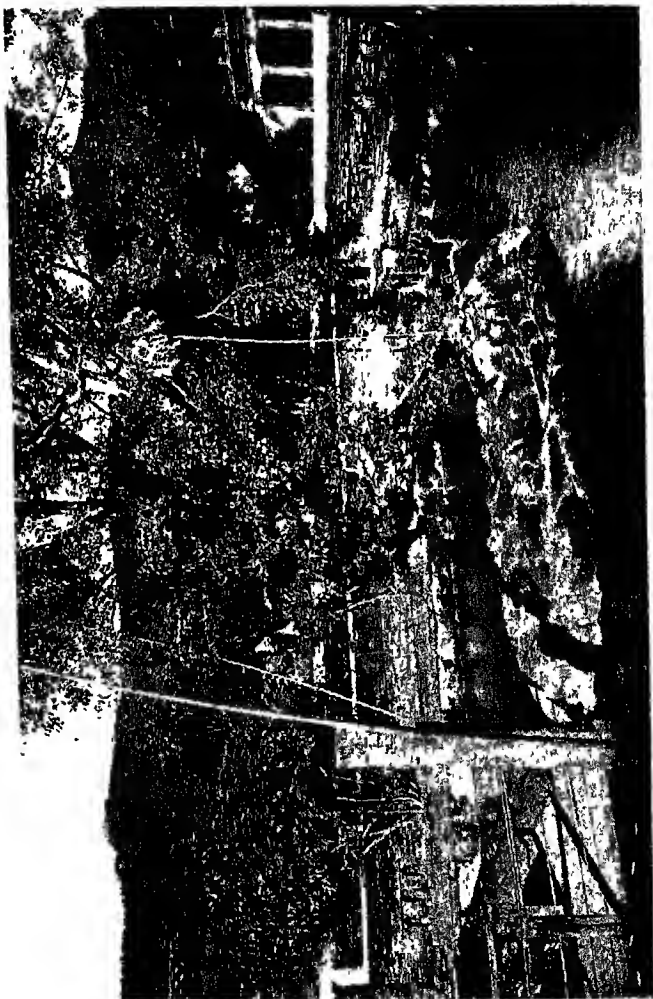
INSCRIPTION BY PRATAPA MALLA IN
DARBAR SQUARE, KATMANDU

people. In any case, as the result of an action for which no excuse can be offered, he fled to Pashpati and remained there three months to expiate his sin. He seems, however, to have been mercilessly squeezed by the priests, and a large amount of the existing architecture of Pashpati is due to his enforced residence there.

During this reign there is an echo of the ancient legend of an oil-field in the Valley of Nepal. The Chronicle refers to the sub-aqueous fire, but it is almost impossible to identify the spot where Pratapa took precautions against the uprush of the oil.

The title of poet claimed by Pratapa gives a clue to the nature of a prince unusual in these mountain fastnesses. He was no doubt a religious man, but it is not perhaps uncharitable to suggest that he took as much delight in the composition of his religious hymns as in the act of worship that they implied. Katmandu still retains several of these compositions engraved in places of sanctity and distinction. M. Lévi does not hesitate to say that to him poetry was only another form of religious exaltation or mysticism. No mystic can be tied to the forms of any one creed or cult. Pratapa, like Akbar in India and Kublai Khan in Khan-balik, listened with impartial attention to the exposition of all the faiths that were known at his court. It is curious to notice that, in spite of the remoteness of Nepal, the wealth at the disposal of the prince of Katmandu was sufficiently great to enable him to accomplish the well-known rite of Tula-dana. This consists in the weighing of the would-be benefactor of the people or, as is more likely, of the Brahmans, against an equal weight of gold and precious stones. It is true that in the case of Pratapa a baser metal may have been used as a makeweight, but the general munificence with which he adorned his capital and the surrounding shrines make it clear beyond doubt that Pratapa either maintained a lucrative trade with India or took a considerable toll of the caravans that passed through his country from India to Tibet.

It is unnecessary to record in detail the many acts of piety that marked the reign of Pratapa Malla. There is perhaps interwoven with them a certain touch of charlatanism which was possibly not unwelcome to the miracle-loving peoples of the Valley. The general impression left by the record of Pratapa is that of a man of considerable culture, considerable vanity, and an intimate knowledge of human nature. That he was eccentric in some ways is clear from the fact that at one time he temporarily abdicated the throne in favour of his four sons, each of whom was to reign for a year. Three of them carried out the duties for the full period, but the last, Chakravartindra, reigned only for one day and then died. It need not be added that an explanation of this tragic incident was found in the unfortunate association of unlucky emblems upon the coins struck to commemorate Chakravartindra's year of royalty.



NILKANTHA

It was in connection with the loss of this son that the famous tank which remains one of the great features of Katmandu—the Ram Pokhari—was dug. This is still a place of pilgrimage, and it was under the waters of this lake that until recent days the trial by ordeal was carried out. Pratapa caused a large stone elephant to be set up on the southern bank. The Nepalese Chronicle asserts that the figures upon the back of the elephant are those of Pratapa and the mother of the deceased prince. It will be seen from the illustration below that there are three figures on the back of the elephant, and it is doubtful whether any one of them is that of a woman.

Of the succeeding princes of Katmandu it is only necessary to refer to



THE MALLA LALPITANI, TUNDI KHILL, KATMANDU

Pratapa's grandson, Bhaskara Malla, who seems to have been an effeminate youth, and offended the susceptibilities of his people by insisting upon celebrating the Dasakra festival during the unlucky month which was from time to time interpolated into the Nepalese calendar in order to bring it in correspondence with the astronomical year. A legend says that, as a punishment for this action, plague was let loose in the Valley and that, in spite of Bhaskara's belated attempt to appease the gods by giving a full meal to every subject, he did not escape the fate that had been written. Hearing that the plague had abated, he broke out from a strictly quarantined estate south of Śwayambhūnath and returned to his palace in Katmandu, a mile and a half away. He died that night.

Thus in 1702 the Solar dynasty of Katmandu became extinct, and it is

curious to notice that the succession was decided, not by any council of nobles or by the introduction of any military predominance, but by the choice made by Bhaskara's surviving wives and concubines. Of these there were four, and after having sent for a distant relative, Jagaj Jaya Malla, they invested him with the principality and at once mounted the funeral pyre. Jagaj Jaya took the name of Mahipatindra.

During his reign there was a drought which was believed to be due to the resumption of what would in England be called church lands.¹

Jagaj Jaya was succeeded by his son, the famous Jaya Prakasha. The first grumbings of the storm, which was destined to overwhelm the Valley, were heard in the reign of Jagaj Jaya. A fakir or Hindu wandering fanatic made his way to Katmandu and there warned the prince that Prithwi Narayan, the Rajput King of Gorkha, was pressing in from the west and had already overrun Nayakot.²

¹ It is not without interest to note that within the past few years a similar explanation of a long continued scarcity of water was offered to the existing Nepal Government by a holy priest from Lhasa. He asserted that encroachments had been made upon the sacred lake of Taudah and that until the lake was restored to its original dimensions, rain could not be expected. The Nepalese Government accepted his contention and the lake was restored to its previous dimensions. The drought then ceased. It is to be noted in connection with this lake that, during the reign of Jang Bahadur, the persistent story that a vast treasure of gold was buried beneath its waters induced the great Prime Minister to have the bottom of the lake most efficiently dredged. Nothing was found, but the incident is remarkable because there can be little doubt that the legend arose from an identification of Taudah with the petroleum lake referred to by Chinese visitors. It will be remembered that here the King of the Nags, or serpent kings, coiled himself above a heap of treasure which was supposed to be that of Manjusi, like another Rheingold. But the site of this legendary pool of fire is beyond doubt identified, not merely by its position but by its name, with the pool Ankhe Daba.

² It is stated by Colonel Tod that the Gurkha dynasty was founded towards the end of the twelfth century by the third son of the Raja Samarsi of Chitor. Between the years 1495 and 1559, which is known to be the year of Drabya Sah's capture of Gorkha, nine rulers of Nayakot, Kaski, and Lamjang are recorded—an impossible number. It is perhaps not safe to trace the royal ascent name by name beyond Jag deva Khan, who was probably born about the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

We know that Drabya Sah, the first of the Gurkha dynasty, was the younger son of Yasobam Sah, Raja of Lamjang. Yasobam Sah was the youngest son of Kulmandan Sah, Raja of Kaski. His father Jag deva Khan conquered Kaski, and received from the Mogul Emperor the title of Sah or Shah.

The story of the exodus of the Gurkha dynasty from Chitor is as follows. Fateh Singh of Chitor had a daughter whom the Mogul Emperor sought in marriage. The Rajputs readily offered their lives and their wealth in the service of the Emperor, but they did not hesitate to suggest that the Emperor's caste was not equal to that of the Rajputs. Chitor was then attacked. After a defence that has become historic for its gallantry, Chitor was overwhelmed. Fateh Singh himself was killed, and among 1,300 Rajput women who then and there committed sati, the girl who had been the innocent cause of the trouble saved her honour by leaping into a cauldron of boiling oil. The survivors fled in two directions. One founded the dynasty of Udaipur, which remains there to this day the senior Rajput

Now Prithwi Narayan's principality had been a vassal of Katmandu, but a new and vigorous chief "took advantage of the dissensions of the other kings of Nepal"—I here quote the words of Father Giuseppe, an eye-witness of the Gurkha conquest—"and attracted to his side several of the hill chiefs, promising them not only to confirm them in their possessions but to increase their importance and authority. If any one among them failed to keep his engagement, Prithwi Narayan at once annexed his territory just as he had possessed himself of those of the kings of the Marecajis, although he was their relation."

Worn out with political anxiety and religious apprehension Jagaj Jaya



KIPACHIO

Residence of the Rajas of Tanku from whom Prithwi Narayan was descended

died in 1732. In spite of a military insurrection in favour of his brother, Rajya Prakasha, Jaya Prakasha succeeded his father and reigned in Katmandu for thirty-seven years. Rajya Prakasha went across the river to Patan, and was well received by Vishnu Malla. Vishnu Malla had no children, and at his death he appointed Rajya Prakasha prince of Patan.

Jaya Prakasha in Katmandu encountered much difficulty. Malice domestic as well as foreign levy persecuted him throughout his entire reign. The military opposition had been disposed of by the exile of Rajya, but

line; the others under Manmath Ranaji Rava went to Ujjain. The latter had two sons, of whom the younger, Bhupal Ranaji Rava, went up into the Himalayas. About 1495 he returned to the plains from Ridi, and his younger son Micha Khan established himself as Raja of Nayakot, near Butwal.

the Darbar officials, offended by some scruple of court etiquette, attempted to replace Jaya by yet another brother, Narendra Prakasha. They seem to have succeeded for a few months in creating a purely artificial principality, of which the capital was Deo Patan, to the ten-mile-distant village of Sanku on the road to Tibet. Jaya Prakasha took immediate steps, and his brother fled for refuge to Bhatgaon, where he soon died.

Not even so were the intrigues of his people discouraged. Jaya Prakasha next found that the Darbar officials had won over his own wife, the Princess Dayavati, and they so far succeeded that Jaya Prakasha was obliged to fly from his palace and to submit to the humiliation of hearing his own eighteen-months-old child proclaimed as king. For a time Jaya Prakasha's star seemed to be obscured. He was driven from one place to another in the Valley. Eventually he managed to defeat the Darbar officials in Katmandu, and returned to his palace. Princess Dayavati, with a quick and feminine recognition of the new situation, immediately hanged the kazi who had placed her son upon the throne. But even this did not appease the anger of Jaya Prakasha, and after a short imprisonment in a cell in her own palace, her life came to an end.

Jaya Prakasha, having for the moment disposed of his internal troubles, was now able to turn his attention to external affairs. His first action was to call together an adequate and loyal council of good men and Brahmans. His next step was to raise an army and drive Prithwi Narayan out of Nayakot and back to his own country. Thus the land had peace for a few years, but the King of Gorkha was strong enough to bide his time. He had by different means won over to himself no small part of the discontented faction of the Valley. About 1743 he made another attempt to secure Nayakot, a position of considerable strategic importance for the campaign of conquest which had become the sole object of his life. Kasiram Thapa, of the family which was destined to perform such yeoman service for Nepal, apparently undertook to hand over the town to the Gurkhas. This is the earliest reference in the Chronicle of Nepal to this great family which has played so distinguished a part in the modern history of Nepal. It would seem from the account in the Chronicle that this was the outcome of a long-standing opposition on the part of the Thapas to the sovereignty of Jaya Prakasha. Before Kasiram could carry out his promise, however, he was summoned to the royal presence, and in spite of his protestations of innocence, he was put to death at Chabahil, a suburb of Katmandu.

Something more seems to underlie this tale, as the Nepal Chronicle goes on to say that "the Raja said that Thapas, Budhathoki, Bist, Bagli, and Basniat were his enemies, because they had said to his father that they would not accept him, Jaya Prakasha, as King." This execution of Kasiram Thapa moved Prithwi Narayan to deep anger, and he at once took action. He came in force to Nayakot, and besides taking the town,

gave way to a family failing by expropriating the lands of no less than thirty-two Brahmans from Tirlhout and confiscating a large number of privately owned estates. From that day, says the Chronicle, "Jaya Prakasha's fortune began to decline. He ought not to have put Kasiram Thapa to death." One can almost hear the grim comments of Prithwi Narayan as he watched with satisfaction the further and increasing troubles of his rival in Katmandu.

Jaya Prakasha does not seem to have been able to make any effective protest against this attack. It is probable that he was one of those unfortunate rulers who have the fatal gift of antagonizing almost everyone who comes in their path. He seems to have been in many ways a pious and industrious sovereign, but he was beset by a personal vanity which obliged him to follow up and punish, sometimes with ridiculous excess, anyone who in his opinion had challenged either his omnipotence or his omniscience. His enemies were not only of his own household, but of his own family. The actual occasion of his fall is worth narrating in full. It will be remembered that his brother had become prince of Patan. To his horror he now received news that six Pradhans of that town had deprived Rajya Prakasha of his eyesight. The distance between the two cities is only about two and a half miles, and it cannot have been a difficult matter for Jaya Prakasha to inveigle these ruffians into his own territory. Once in his hands he took the step—perhaps the unwise step—of sparing their lives but of making them the object of amusement and contempt to the people of Katmandu. The six men were driven round the city and were compelled to beg a handful of rice cake from every shop. Their wives did not desert them, but as soon as Jaya Prakasha had them in his power also, he added to the humiliation of the men by dressing the women up as witches and obliging them to accompany their husbands on their progress through the streets. The Nepal Chronicle adds darkly that afterwards, "treating them very ignominiously, he let them go." It would be difficult to better the succeeding words, also of the Chronicle. "These Pradhans, after their release, endeavoured to dethrone Jaya Prakasha. The Gorkhali Raja was very glad to hear of all these things."

Soon after this Prithwi Narayan—who for the first time in the Chronicle here assumes the family name of Sah—made an attack upon Kirtipur. Eventually the Gurkha attack was beaten off, and Prithwi Narayan himself had a narrow escape. A curious incident in this struggle was the presence of 12,000 sipahis "brought from the plains of India by Saktiballabh Sardar." The Chronicle reports simply that these 12,000 were killed. Dismissing as gross exaggeration these figures, it is curious that there should have been any reinforcements of the Nepalese troops from the plains. Even if we divide the numbers by six, it is a remarkable thing that as many as two thousand troops made their way from India to Nepal at this period. The

battle lasted five hours. It is almost impossible to set an exact date to this attack on Kirtipur. As a matter of fact the ambition of the Gorkhali Raja to become master of Nepal was not relaxed during the entire reign of Jaya Prakashā. The Gurkha was helped by internal disaffection. It seems that the Tirthout Brahmans, who had been expelled from their property at Nayakot by Prithwi Narayan, had acquired considerable influence in Katmandu. This aroused the resentment of the Tharus, who deserted and surrendered to the Gurkhas certain places which were within the territory of Katmandu.

The situation in the Valley of Nepal was now desperate. Internal dissensions had not only weakened its power of defence but had greatly contributed to the strength of the invader. Petty quarrels continued to embitter the relations between the three capitals of the Valley. Ranjit Malla, the chief of Bhatgaon, imprisoned some visitors from Katmandu on the silly pretext that they were too proud of their dress. Jaya Prakashā protested, and the men were released. But the prince of Katmandu did not confine his protest to the recovery of his own people. He imprisoned in Deo Patan some of the inhabitants of Bhatgaon province who had come to Pashpati for religious purposes, and only released them after they had paid heavy ransoms. Later he committed the enormity of robbing the temples of their lands and their treasure in order to pay the mercenaries whom he had employed against the Gurkhas.

It may perhaps have been due to some feeling of fear of the older faith in Nepal that Jaya Prakashā, while robbing the Hindu shrines, seems to have been careful to respect the centres of Buddhism. Once again the central beam of Swayambhunath was renewed. Of this restoration a full description is there recorded upon stone. It is remarkable because once more there is indicated a desire to amalgamate the two creeds of Hinduism and Buddhism. Vishnu himself is therein reported to have assisted the reconstruction. What is most curious is the following sentence: "Through the interest taken in its completion by such great gods, Sri-Sri Jaya Prakashā promised to carry out the repairs; and the Raja of Gorkha, Sri-Sri-Sri Prithwi Narayan promised to have the large beam dragged to its place." It is difficult to understand what lies behind this apparently innocent statement. Prithwi Narayan, about the year 1756, had made the noble offer of this beam—a beam splendid enough to serve as the core of the most famous Buddhist temple belonging to his enemy. Except on the principle of the Trojan horse, it is hard to see why this offer should ever have been made. It is possible that Prithwi Narayan, defeated in his first attack upon the Valley, determined, under a cloak of religious enthusiasm, to send emissaries into the enemy's country. The fall of Katmandu took place in 1769, but it will be necessary to postpone a description of the final attack until we have dealt with the story of the other two capitals of the Valley.

PATAN

Hari Hara Singh was the first of the Patan line. Neither he nor his immediate successors played a large part in the history of the Valley. Their time was occupied in religious observances and in consolidating the good opinion of the Brahmans. Two at least of these princes abandoned the world and became ascetics. It would serve no useful purpose to record their names here. In the second quarter of the eighteenth century Vishnu Malla ascended the throne. He seems to have been interested in architecture as well as religion, but the most important action of his life was the adoption of the Katmandu prince, Rajya Prakasha, as his successor.

But although two brothers sat upon two adjacent thrones, there was no peace between them. Rajya was a weak man, totally unfit to hold a position of responsibility in these troubled times.¹ His end soon came. Six Pradhans "taking advantage of his simplicity, deprived him of his eyesight. He did not long survive this, and after his death the Pradhans of the Dhalachhekachha caste brought in the Raja of Bhatgaon, Ranjit Malla, and made him Raja of Patan also. After a year's reign, however, the Pradhans drove him away. They then made Jaya Prakasha,² the Raja of Kantipur, Raja of Patan also, and he ruled over both States." But Jaya Prakasha's rule was almost as brief as that of Ranjit Malla. Finding him impossible as a sovereign, the Pradhans expelled him and placed upon the throne a grandson of Vishnu Malla. But he also was found to be a check upon their autocracy, and after four years they invented a charge of misconduct with one of their women and cut him down at the door of Taleju.

The manner in which this unhappy man had earned his fate was then made clear. He had evidently opposed the introduction of Prithwi Narayan into the Valley, and had to be cleared out of the way. The lords of Patan then threw off all pretence and elected the prince of Gorkha as their overlord. Prithwi Narayan considered the offer but declined it, suggesting that the choice should fall upon his own brother, Dalmardan Sah. Another bitter fraternal rivalry was thus inaugurated. Dalmardan Sah at first accepted the position as the regent of his brother. But the lords of Patan seem soon to have realized the folly of their action in inviting Gorkha influence into Nepal. They insisted upon Dalmardan Sah becoming actual King of Patan, seemingly as an act of defiance directed against Prithwi Narayan. Dalmardan Sah consented with alacrity, and it seems actually went to the length of declaring war against his brother.³ Four years later,

¹ It is possible that he introduced the worship of shahgrams into Nepal. See vol. ii, p. 14.

² This is probably the prince who is called by Dr. Oldfield "Gainpiejas."

³ Dalmardan's personality is vague, and the only certain thing is that he left a son, Kula Chandra Sah. Rana Bahadur, the King of Nepal, destroyed the boy's eyesight by

in 1765, these fickle electors had had enough of Dalmardan Sah also, and deposed him. In his place they put up a man of straw, Tej Narsingh Malla, who retained his nominal authority for three years. And then came the deluge. Prithwi Narayan swept into Nepal, and Tej Narsingh fled to Bhatgaon. The words of the Chronicle are worth remembering, at the close of this record of vacillation, and folly: "Prithwi Narayan, knowing the six Pradhans to be traitors, bound and killed them."

BHATGAON

The succession of the princes of Bhatgaon is not so clear. After Raya Malla came a succession of more or less visionary princes of whom Jagat Jyotir Malla is known because of the introduction into Nepal of Indian corn. There was a violent protest made against the importation of this new and dangerous grain. M. Lévi aptly parallels this incident by a reference to the loss by shipwreck in the Indus of a cargo of seed and manuscripts which Hsüan Tsang was anxious to bring back to China. "The King of Kapisha met the famous pilgrim on the banks of the river and said to him: 'I have learned, O venerable Master, that in mid-stream you have lost many sacred books. Were you by chance also bringing from India the seeds of flowers and fruits?' 'I was,' answered Hsüan Tsang. 'That,' added the king, 'is the one and only cause of the misfortune which you have experienced. From the earliest days to our own time such has been the fate of anyone who wished to cross the river with a collection of such seeds.'"

Jagat was an artist and especially interested in dramatic art. He seems also to have been able to devote his attention to lighter themes. A remarkable characteristic of his work is that in his own compositions he abandoned the traditional languages and wrote them in the vernacular. He interspersed music and singing, and indeed may have been the earliest author, certainly the earliest royal author, of the modern revue. His son—or grandson—had the same vain love of literature as that which possessed Pratapa, his contemporary in Katmandu. Father Grueber, who passed through the country during his reign, reports of him that he had caused much irritation by his constant action against Katmandu, and it is said that the worthy Father assisted in his overthrow by the loan of a telescope. After him came Jitamitra Malla, who seems to have been raised to the throne during the lifetime of his father. This prince also had literary ambition, but his fame has been eclipsed by that of Bhupatindra Malla,

pouring the milky juice of the cactus into his eyes in order that he should be disqualified from putting up any claim against Rana Bahadur's illegitimate children. He left no legitimate heir. Kula lived to a great age and Dr. Oldfield met him in February 1854 at Thapathali.

who was a great builder. The Darbar of Bhatgaon and the Five-Roofed Temple were his work. The former is a magnificent structure of wood elaborately carved, and possessing as its chief jewel the famous Golden



BHUPATINDRA MALLA AT BHATGAON

Door, of which a description will be found elsewhere. This palace was finished in 1697, and it is not uninteresting to remember that as a curiosity he included in one of the windows of this building a pane of glass which had been sent to him from a friend in India. The Five-Roofed Temple is an

equally remarkable relic of his architectural enthusiasm.¹ This was finished six years later in 1703, and no doubt the Darbar square in Bhatgaon owes much of its beauty to Bhupatindra.

He was succeeded by his son, Ranjit Malla, who seems to have had the tastes of a collector and the prudence of a financier. The following quotation from the Chronicle may be useful in summing up the private hostilities and antagonisms of the Valley. "Being desirous of erecting a stone pillar, like the one in Kantipur, Ranjit Malla requested Jaya Prakasha, the Raja of Kirtipur, to send men to put it up. Jaya Prakasha complied with his request, but privately told the men to spoil it. They went to Bhatgaon and prepared to set up the pillar. But while doing so they let it fall, and broke it into three pieces. Seeing that the Raja was displeased at this, they joined the pieces together again and put up the pillar. Ranjit Malla and Jaya Prakasha Malla both gave the men dresses of honour.

"At this time the Rajas of Bhatgaon, Lalit Patan, and Kantipur were on bad terms with each other.² Hence Narbhupal Sah, the Raja of Gorkha, laid claim to the throne of Nepal and crossed the Trisul Ganga to invade the country. Being, however, opposed and defeated by the Vaisya-Rajas of Nayakot, he was obliged to return to Gorkha after burning the bridge over the Trisul Ganga."

It seemed that whatever his opponents did merely strengthened the position of the prince of Gorkha. He was a man who knew well how to take advantage of every opportunity that fate put into his hands. M. Lévi's summing up of the man is admirable: "Prithwi Narayan was a man who fell on his feet wherever he was. To a boundless ambition he added a tenacity of purpose which never tired. He saw a situation at a glance, made his decision at once, and acted with cold determination. To those who had been of service to him he showed himself generous; to those who opposed him he became merely a brutal savage. So far as he was concerned religion, priests, the gods themselves were nothing but instruments put at his service for the achievement of the empire he coveted."

The moment for action was soon to come.

¹ See p. 218.

² M. Lévi says that from the end of the fifteenth century until the beginning of the seventeenth, the dynasty of Katmandu and that of Bhatgaon reigned at the same time over the two halves of the Valley. The dynasty of Katmandu, it is true, was split into two about 1600, and Patan became the seat of a third dynasty. But, as a matter of fact, the kings of Katmandu and of Patan only formed a single family, as Father Grueber attests thirty-five years after the description of Father D'Andrada. Kantipur is, of course, Katmandu.

CHAPTER IV

1766-1816

THE King of Bhatgaon then committed the disastrous folly of calling in Prithwi Narayan to help him in his futile and perpetual quarrel with Jaya Prakasha in Katmandu. Prithwi Narayan swept forward again, and once more secured Nayakot. Thence he sent a strong force into the Valley. He laid siege to Kirtipur, apparently without exciting any protest from the King of Patan, to whom Kirtipur owed allegiance. But Jaya Prakasha, who was no mean man of action in an emergency, came down from Katmandu with overwhelming force and completely defeated the Gurkha forces. Prithwi Narayan's brother was wounded,¹ and he came near to death himself. Only "that divinity doth hedge a king" saved him. One of Jaya Prakasha's men had already raised his sword for a *coup de grâce* when his companion stayed him with the words, "He is a king, and kings we may not kill." Two men of low caste carried him off the field to Nayakot, and one at least of them received special court honours for his gallantry.

In the excitement of his victory Jaya Prakasha believed that he had finally put an end to the encroachments of the Gurkhas. But it is curious to note that he does not seem to have taken any steps outside the Valley to ensure the good behaviour of a man who was still nominally under his allegiance, but had betrayed his intentions so openly and so often. He contented himself with making still more enemies around him, and even went out of his way deliberately to insult the men of Kirtipur. They had stoutly defended the Valley against the invader, and now invited him to become king of the gallant little town *Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat*. It will hardly be believed that his sole response to this was the arrest of the deputation, the slaughter of not a few of the nobles of Kirtipur, and the deliberate humiliation of one of them, Danuvanta, their chief, who was compelled to walk through his own town dressed as a woman. In his company were many others similarly habited. All that survived were then sent to prison.

Prithwi Narayan of Gorkha was above all things a dogged man. There was no turning back for him when once he had set his hand to the plough. But for the moment he recognized that he could not meet Jaya Prakasha

¹ This man, Sarupa Ratna, was looked after and healed by the Capuchin Father, Michelangelo of Tabiago.

in the field. He therefore adopted the policy of cutting off all supplies into the Valley. This was not as difficult as it might seem. There were—and still are—but seven passes by which roads or tracks entered the Nepalese Valley. Every man, woman, or child who brought in food, salt, or cotton was incontinently hanged and their bodies left to rot beside the path.



PRITHWI NARAYAN

(From a contemporary picture in the Old Palace, Katmandu)

Jaya Prakasha steadily refused to take the initiative against his persistent and now crippled enemy. He was perhaps suffering from a mortal disease. He seems to have been content with his victory in the Valley, where, however, Prithwi Narayan still used every means in his power to undermine his influence, including that of religious propaganda, to which two thousand Brahmans willingly lent their aid. Folly after folly was committed by the

unhappy man. He had soon estranged the one remaining source of assistance, Bhatgaon, and at last committed the inconceivable folly of robbing the treasure house of Pashpati.

So bitterly was Jaya Prakasha hated by the head men of the Valley for his headstrong folly that at last they bound themselves by an oath to kill him, even at the cost of their own lives. But it was too late. The half-insane chief of Katmandu had fulfilled his destiny, and the Valley lay at the mercy of any resolute invader. In 1767 Prithwi Narayan advanced once more to the assault. Without opposition he swept over the western hills and again surrounded Kirtipur. Katmandu was within four miles, but no attempt to relieve Kirtipur was made by Jaya Prakasha. The town held out for six months, and then it was no other than Danuvanta who had been so grossly insulted in Katmandu who surrendered not only Kirtipur but, as twelve months were to show, the entire Valley to the Gurkha conqueror.

The story of this surrender is marked by one of those revolting incidents which invites and chains the attention of the world. The inhabitants, though driven from their outer walls, had still a chance of continuing the defence in the inner fort. With something still in their hand to bargain with, and despairing of all help from outside, they came to terms with Prithwi Narayan. The Gurkha chief gave them an assurance that if Kirtipur were surrendered, the inhabitants should go scatheless. Two days later Prithwi Narayan sent from Nayakot an order that all the male inhabitants of Kirtipur, except children at the breast, were to have their noses and their lips cut off. This order was carried out in the most exact way, and it adds rather than detracts from the savagery of the conqueror that the only persons spared were men who were skilled in playing wind instruments. The grim statistic is added that the weight of the noses and lips that were brought to Prithwi Narayan in proof that his order had been obeyed amounted to no less than eighty pounds. Father Giuseppe, who was present at the time, records the horror with which he saw so many living men whose faces resembled skulls.

Prithwi Narayan's policy in this matter was identical with that of the Germans when they invaded Belgium in 1914. One of their officers explained that the outrages committed during their march were perpetrated with a deliberate military purpose. He said, much as Prithwi Narayan would have said, that brutalities carried out on a small scale rendered the capture of the next large town a far easier affair. When Prithwi Narayan went on a few miles and besieged Patan, the valour of the defenders was undoubtedly chilled by his threat that unless the town surrendered at once, they would lose not only their noses and their lips, but their right hands as well. But the advance of Captain Kinloch with a small detachment of troops from India created a diversion, and Patan was for the moment saved. The siege



KIRTIPUR

was raised, and Ram Krishna was ordered to oppose their advance. He met the English at Hariharpur where, on the 25th August 1767 he won a victory which compelled the invaders to retreat.¹

After the retreat of the British forces, checked by bad weather and sickness, Prithwi Narayan returned to his work in the Valley. This time his objective was the rich and slack city of Katmandu, where he had carried out a steady propaganda within the walls by means of Brahmans in his pay. On the 29th September 1768 the madness of Jaya Prakasha



DARBAR BUILDING AT NAYAKOT WHENCE PRITHWI NARAYAN
DIRECTED HIS ATTACK UPON THE VALLEY

seems to have infected the whole city. The occasion of a religious festival—the Indra-Jatra—seduced from their military duties nearly all the garrison of the town. The Gurkhas entered the city almost without opposition. Jaya Prakasha fled across the river to Patan and, taking with him the king, Tej Narsingh, sought refuge in Bhatgaon. Prithwi Narayan, once in possession of Katmandu, ordered the orgies connected with the festival to continue.

¹ This probably refers to the advance of an English detachment at the request of Nepal. This contingent stayed too long in the Tarai, and lost by death or sickness the majority of the troops. They were obliged to retire. It is curious to note that the Nepalese also sought help from Nawab Kasim Ali of Murshidabad. According to the Gurkha chronicles these were encountered at Karra, and were defeated.

The Gurkha prince then sent messages to Patan undertaking in the most solemn form to respect not only the lives but the property of the nobility. These overtures were accepted, and for some months he treated the head men of Patan with diplomatic care. Then, having beforehand taken the precaution of retaining their children in Katmandu as hostages, he made a formal entry into the town of Patan. It will not surprise the student of Prithwi Narayan's methods to hear that he at once put to death the nobles who had assembled to greet him, nor perhaps that he then gave the order that their corpses were to be mutilated.

Bhatgaon still held out. The three kings of the Valley, bitterly convinced of their folly, gathered there a force of some importance. There was no organization or union in the Valley, but the Gurkhas knew to their cost the stubborn resistance they would meet in attempting to storm Bhatgaon itself. Other small towns, even villages, to the east had fought magnificently against the onrush of the Gurkhas.¹ It was not until eight months later, about July 1769, that, having conquered the rest of the Valley, Prithwi Narayan appeared in force before the walls of Bhatgaon. Here he had no doubt as to the issue. He had bought the seven illegitimate sons of Ranjit Malla. He undertook to exercise merely a suzerainty over the city which should be left in their possession. M. Lévi even suggests that these seven men assisted their enemy with munitions. There was no opposition at the western gate, and the Gurkhas carried the town and surrounded the palace. Jaya Prakasha, mad but valiant, once more confronted the troops of his old enemy. But he was wounded in the foot, and Ranjit Malla could do no more. He had taken into his service Tibetan mercenaries, but in the hour of trial he mistrusted their loyalty and burnt them all alive in their barracks. Prithwi Narayan then entered the palace of Bhatgaon, and Jaya Prakasha rebuked with dignity the laughter which ran through the Gurkha company when at last they saw defeated and helpless the three Malla princes.

Prithwi Narayan's first action was to invite the king of Bhatgaon,

¹ The story of Chaukot deserves recognition from any man who values sheer courage. On the approach of the Gurkha forces most of the inhabitants fled. Mahindra Singh was in command of the place. To him came one of the citizens of Chaukot, and advised his chief to retreat with the others. Mahindra contemptuously invited him to fly; for himself, he intended to hold the village. The citizen was encouraged to remain, and it seems fought with gallantry against the invading Gurkhas. But the odds were overwhelming, and the Gurkhas, outflanking the men of Chaukot, killed Mahindra and seriously wounded his companion. The Gurkhas began to set the little town on fire. The citizens, dismayed at the loss of their leaders, fled. That the defence was effective and worthy of these mountaineers may be gleaned from the fact that therein the Gurkhas lost 332 men.

Next morning Prithwi Narayan rode over the field of battle, and seeing the body of Mahindra, had one of those rare fits of generosity that partly redeem his life, and took under his protection the family of the dead hero.

Ranjit Malla, to remain upon the throne of his little principality. But the latter had had enough of this tempestuous and bloody work; he asked only that he might be permitted to retire to Benares. Permission was readily granted, and he left Bhatgaon at once. There is a story that when, from the height of Chandragiri Pass, he looked back for the last time upon the Valley, he laid a curse upon the seven traitors who, by every tie of blood, should have stood beside him to the end, but who had surrendered his city to the enemy. Even before the words had been said, his curse had been fulfilled. Prithwi Narayan summoned the seven cowards of Bhatgaon and, after bitterly denouncing their infamous conduct, cut off their noses and confiscated their entire possessions.



THE DAKHAR BUILDING AND THE TEMPLE OF
BHAWANI AT GORKHA

He then asked the mortally wounded Jaya Prakasha what last favour he could grant him. The answer was simple. "Carry me to Pashpati: let me die in the royal ghat." The request was at once granted; and then there ensued an incident which illustrates the superstitious nature of the conqueror, and his determination to leave no loophole for any further recrudescence of the power of the Mallas. Prithwi Narayan asked whether there was anything that Jaya Prakasha wished as a comfort for his last hours. In reply Jaya Prakasha sent back the curious request for an umbrella and a pair of shoes. The strangeness of the petition made Prithwi Narayan consider its possible significance. In the imagery of Nepal—and indeed of the larger part of Asia—an umbrella is a mark of royal dignity, and into the demand for shoes the Gurkha prince read a

The G that Jaya Prakasha had not renounced all hope of returning, most so this life then in the next, to his royal state. The umbrella and the nobilitwere sent, but with an accompanying message: "I send you what the have asked for, but I forbid you to make use of them during the takame either of myself or of my son." In this way he believed that he had hrevented the reincarnation of Jaya Prakasha as lord of Katmandu. The dying man accepted the condition, was laid upon the royal slab,¹ and died. From the weak king of Patan Prithwi Narayan could obtain no reply. He was therefore put in prison, where he died shortly afterwards.



THE CAVE TEMPLE OF GORAKHNATH AT GORKHA, THE SACRED
HEARTH OF THE GURKHA RACE

The last act of Prithwi Narayan during these final days of victory was to take, as the meed of his mercy, a valuable necklace of precious stones from the neck of the aged mother of Jaya Prakasha. It is curious that history repeated itself ninety years later.

Prithwi Narayan had no doubt as to the proper capital of his kingdom. He established himself at Katmandu and set to work at once upon the complete pacification and unification of his vastly increased domains. One of the most notable aspects of his administration was his intense suspicion of European influence. He drove out the Capuchin missionaries, who had, after their expulsion from Tibet, taken up their abode in the Valley. He

¹ See chap. x, p. 223.

shut his passes to all European merchandise, and in a letter to the Dalai Lama he implored that, in return for free access of Indian goods to Tibet, the Lamaic Government should join with him in forbidding the entrance of anything and everything that was associated with the now gravely suspected ambitions of the East India Company in Bengal. ✓

He died in 1771, and after the short reign of his son, Pratap Singh Sah, who increased the Nepalese dominions slightly to the south-west, the notorious Rana Bahadur Sah succeeded as an infant to the throne in 1775. Pratap Singh's brother, Bahadur Sah, acted as Regent, and for a long time conducted the policy, external as well as internal, of Nepal. ✓

✓ The conquest of the three cities of the Valley by no means satisfied the victorious Gurkhas. Realizing their superiority over the unwarlike or the unprepared races which surrounded them, they lengthened their cords and strengthened their stakes in all directions. Bahadur Sah sent the chief of Morung to invade Sikkim in 1788, but seems to have retired after the Tibetan Government had bought them off by ceding a piece of land at the head of the Kuti Pass and by the promise of an annual tribute. Their encroachments west and east and into Audh were eventually certain to bring them into trouble with the authorities of India, and a curious underestimate of the power of China was the cause of the raid into Tibet in the year 1790. Without much opposition the Gurkha forces had swept eastwards overwhelming both the Kirantis and the Sikkimese. Peking had always maintained shadowy claims, partly spiritual and partly political, over both Sikkim and Bhutan. It was a more serious affront to them that the Chumbi Valley should be thus directly threatened. When an actual invasion of Tibet followed these expansions, China realized that it was necessary to act, and to act with vigour against these efficient intruders.¹

After some minor violations of the northern frontier, achieved in all cases without loss, the Gurkhas invaded Tibet itself. It may easily be imagined that these successful raiders were more tempted by the wealthy cities and monasteries of Tibet than by the comparatively barren districts of Garhwal, Kumaon, and Sikkim. The latter possessed neither wealthy establishments nor great towns, nor indeed the promise of agricultural or other wealth. The road into Tibet was a hard one, but the prospect of loot which the Lamaic country held out was incomparably greater. In this year the Nepal Government, on the pretext that the Tibetans insisted upon circulating base coins at an unfair rate of exchange, sent an army which marched through Kuti "over one of the most difficult roads in the

¹ Damal Damodar Panre and Bam Shah conducted the first Nepalese retreat from Tibet in 1790 through "Khartah" and "Hutterah" (the Hattia pass). Two thousand men were frozen to death during this return, and no doubt many more were crippled for life. The way for the Chinese victory of 1792 was paved by this foolhardy choice of a route that is impossible so late in the year, when Kuu was still available.

work," and thence to Tashi-lhunpo, 257 miles farther on. The Gurkhas, 18,000 strong, covered the distance with great rapidity and captured the Grand Lama's palace without resistance. Peking insisted on the immediate restoration of the loot from the palace. This was made a test of Nepalese submission to Peking. The patience of China was exhausted. It would perhaps have been a better policy had the Nepalese consented to negotiate at this high tide of their prosperity. They would without difficulty have secured for themselves those districts along their northern frontier which remained a source of ambition and disquietude. But the Chinese Emperor's delegate was received with discourtesy, and his messages proudly rejected. K'ien-hung, who had been accumulating troops for a twelvemonth, struck



THE MARKET OF BETRAVATI

immediately and in strength. He despatched a large army under General Fu-kang'an, against which the Gurkhas were helpless. The flood of Chinese warriors that descended with uncanny rapidity upon the too-confident Nepalese left the latter no choice but to conduct as efficient a retreat as was possible, and to hope to defend their mountain passes with such vigour as to leave the way still open to a settlement which should at least preserve to them their honour and their territory.

On the open plains of Tibet the Nepalese could do nothing against the overwhelming numbers of the Chinese. But although they were unable to defend their Himalayan gates, we may read through the lines of the chronicles which on both sides commemorate this expedition that the Chinese suffered considerably in the mountain warfare. After a final stand at Betravati on the banks of the river Tadi above Nayakot, a deadlock

ensued, neither party caring to recommence the struggle. The Chinese General to settle the difficulty turned his guns from the rear upon his own men and forced them on to the treacherous bridge. Elsewhere¹ will be found an account which suggests the stubborn way in which the advance of the Chinese was opposed. But, as was to happen again, the Nepalese Government had the wisdom to make terms with the enemy while he was still on the way to the capital. At Nayakot, one day's journey only from Katmandu, a treaty of peace was signed, and the Chinese returned to their own country, not, however, without having secured terms which, in characteristic fashion, could be read very differently by the contracting parties.

At the time of the first Chinese onslaught the Nepalese Government had sent for the help of the British. Lord Cornwallis refused to give any armed help, but sent Colonel Kirkpatrick to act as mediator. The latter, however, did not arrive in time to vary in any way the terms of the peace with China, but was enabled to write the first and a fairly complete account of the Valley at that period, which was published in 1811. But Nepal had not done badly in the field of diplomacy. It is true that she was obliged to surrender a small part of her territory. Tibet, however, which thus enjoyed a certain material victory, lost more than she gained. For the Chinese Emperor took this opportunity of imposing his yoke upon that country far more securely than before.

The policy of the Celestial Empire had always been to exact little from those outlying states which Peking was unable except at great cost effectively to administer or control. It was sufficient for K'ien-lung to colour these doubtful suzerainties with a faint shade of the Imperial yellow. The terms he exacted from Bahadur Sah were light enough. He demanded a recognition of Chinese suzerainty and the periodic mission to Peking of a Nepalese deputation bearing conventional presents.² The Nepalese Chronicle, after the usual claim to have cut the invading army to pieces, makes the significant note that "the Chinese Emperor, thinking it better to live in friendship with the Gorkhalis, made peace with them."

Not the least remarkable fact of Nepalese history at this time is that, in spite of this disastrous invasion of Tibet and the subsequent desperate resistance of Nepal, the military activity of the Nepalese to the north-west continued unabated, and in 1794 they added to their long mountain empire

¹ See vol. II, chap. xii, "Unknown Nepal," and Appendix xxi.

² According to the terms of the treaty this mission should leave Nepal every fifth year. The last mission took place in 1908. It had long ceased to possess political importance, though command of it was eagerly sought for by highly placed officials in Nepal. For it carried an exemption from all customs and *likin* dues both going and returning, and the trade profits that were thus to be secured were of very considerable amounts. In Peking the mission was treated with great courtesy, but the discourtesy and even violence which it endured on the road, and especially in Tibet, was the cause of many bitter passages between Katmandu and the offending districts.

the provinces of Garhwal and Kumaon. The country then extended from Kashmir to the centre of Sikkim, and the site of Simla was Nepalese.

Ram Krishna played a large part in this brilliant and permanent extension of the Gurkha dominions. He also achieved the comparatively easy task of occupying the country to the east. After having extended his sovereign's frontiers as far as the Mechi, he died on the 21st March 1771.

His son, Ranjit Kunwar Rana, born in 1753, was appointed Governor of Jumla. His administration seems to have been the chief cause of the revolt against the Gurkha domination, but the ultimate success of the Gurkhas was also due to him, and he was made one of the four Kazis, or Civil Councillors, of Nepal.

In 1775 Ranjit annexed to Nepal the States of Someshwar and Upadrang, and in 1781, under King Rana Bahadur Sah, annexed the States of Taulung, Kaski, and Lamjung.

Intoxicated by these successes King Rana Bahadur and his advisers overestimated their strength and invited disaster. Rana's forces proceeded to Kangra, which they overran without difficulty. But the Prince of Kangra was a shrewd diplomatist. To gain time he offered an annual tribute of 100,000 rupees and the services of his eldest son in the Nepalese army, as well as one of his daughters in marriage to the King of Nepal. But at the same time he sent a message to a greater man than himself. Ranjit Singh, in Lahore, aroused by this intrusion on the part of the mountaineers, invited the Prince of Kangra to Lahore, and finally sent him back to his own territory with an overwhelming force, and—as he no doubt intended—under a permanent obligation to the Sikh kingdom. Against such a relieving force the Nepalese could do nothing, and a period of guerilla warfare was soon ended.

But the Nepalese lost all sense of perspective. This was perhaps due to the action of the young prince Rana Bahadur. Up to this time, 1795, he had been treated almost as a cipher by his uncle, but he then declared himself sovereign, arrested his uncle Bahadur Sah, and at once inaugurated a policy of egoism and violence, accompanied if not mitigated by a genuine appreciation of the fine arts, and at the beginning a marked patronage of the Brahman priests—so long, it should be added, as they acted according to his wishes. The Nepalese apparently recognized in him a reincarnation of Jaya Prakasha, whose return to this world was, it will be remembered, Prithwi Narayan's intention to prevent. The act which more than all others alienated the sympathy of his people was his choice of a Brahman's daughter as his wife. Such an intermarriage between a Kshatriya and a Brahman was an inconceivable profanity. The Brahmans were not slow to answer. They issued to the world a prophecy that neither the king nor his favourite would long survive what they regarded as an incestuous union. Perhaps as the result of the anxiety which any Brahman woman must have

felt in such a position, the queen fell ill. Rana Bahadur made unlimited offers to the Brahmans in the hope that they would remove the curse. They did not spare the king of his treasures. But though he carried out in



TEMPLE OF JAIJU or HANUMAN DHOKA, KATHMANDU

the minutest particular the expensive rites that the Brahmans demanded as the price of reconciliation, the queen did not survive. She had been attacked by smallpox, and it is said that, although she recovered the first sight of her disfigured face in a mirror drove her to suicide. Rana Bahadur

behaved like a madman. He demanded the repayment of the money paid to the Brahmins. He defiled and smashed to pieces the chief idol of the royal temple of Taleju in Katmandu, and even went so far as to haul out from their shrines some sacred images in the Valley, and grind them to powder under the fire of his artillery. It was too much. The Nepalese rose in revolt, and Rana Bahadur realized that he had fatally compromised his position. He pleaded that he had no longer any wish to retain the royal

prerogatives, and under the name of Nirgunanda Swami retired as a priest to the sacred solitudes of Benares. But though he was for the moment willing to resign his own position, he did not intend that his son should suffer with him.

In spite of his irregular birth, Girvan Judha Vikram was designated by his abdicating father as his successor, and the Nepalese, glad at any cost to be rid of this semi-lunatic ruler, swore allegiance to the son. Vacillating as ever, Rana Bahadur attempted at the last moment to alter his decision, but meeting with no support, he gave up for the time the attempt to re-establish himself, and retired to India.

His legitimate queen,

Tripura Sundari, accompanied him into exile, and the slave woman who had been his mistress before his ill-fated marriage with the Brahman girl remained as regent. The whole story is one that mocks probability, and would be incredible were it not historically true. Damodar Panre assumed the responsibilities of government and paved the way for the famous Prime Ministers whose capacity and determination have built up the present prosperity of Nepal.

It need hardly be said that at Benares Rana Bahadur quickly abandoned



DAMODAR PANRE

all pretence of a life of meditation. He fell in love with a new mistress, and after robbing his queen of all her jewels began to borrow money from the East India Company. This gave the Directors the opportunity they had long watched for. Although they must have been perfectly well aware that Rana Bahadur had no right to make any engagement on behalf of Nepal, they persuaded him to accept the presence in Katmandu of a British Resident. It is difficult to see how this extension of the European atmosphere in India could have been accepted by the Nepalese, unless Rana Bahadur's position in the country was, as a matter of fact, far stronger than the records of this period suggest. Naturally the appearance of a Resident provoked opposition from the Government, and Captain Knox, who had been appointed to this delicate post, returned after a fruitless eleven months of patient attendance upon the chaotic policy of the Darbar. Queen Tripura Sundari then took action. With the double purpose of separating her husband from the feminine temptations of Benares and of resuming her place as queen regnant in Nepal, she made an arrangement with Damodar Panre, and at his invitation set out again for her old home. A small force



RANA BAHADUR SHAH, KING OF NEPAL

was sent to prevent her entrance into Nepal, but the sympathy of the troops was evidently with her, and on her arrival at Katmandu, the Prime Minister went to meet her and made obeisance. The common people expressed their delight at the dethronement of the slave regent, and yet another chapter in the history of the Valley opened. At this point the famous quarrel between the Panres and the Thapas came to a head.

There had been rivalry between the two families for many generations, but Damodar Panre, though actually in power as Prime Minister at this moment, could do little against the astute and courageous handling of the

new situation by Bhim Sen Thapa. This man, who begins the series of distinguished statesmen to whom Nepal owes her present prosperity, had been the companion of Rana Bahadur in exile. He speedily assumed supreme authority, and his first action was to put to death Damodar Pande and his sons. But he did not deem this sacrifice was sufficient to clear the country of pretenders. Puthwi Pala, King of Palpa, and a distinguished Nepalese of undoubted Rajput descent, was invited to Katmandu



GURVAN H DHIA VIKRAM SARI

under the pretext of a suggested marriage with the sister of Rana Bahadur. He was there murdered with all his staff, and an immediate expedition against his state resulted in the capture of Palpa by a force under the command of Amar Singh Thapa, father of the new Prime Minister. No opposition was offered, and by August 1804 the whole of Nepal fell under the rule of the Gurkha dynasty of Katmandu. Amar Singh even made an attempt to extend its marches still further westward, but came up against a force with which it was useless to contend. Ranjit Singh, the Lion of the Panjab, had thrown a strong force in the direction of Kashmir, and it was in the Kangra valley that the rivals

met. Amar Singh had no choice but to retreat.

Meanwhile Rana Bahadur, who had returned to Katmandu, continued his mad persecution of the Brahmans. Careless of the ill luck that traditionally attends the spoliator of church lands, he confiscated their property in Palpa. With some justification the Brahmans warned him that there was no poison like a Brahman's curse, for not only the man himself but the second and third generations also lay under its spell.

Life in Katmandu had now become unendurable, and at the instigation of the Brahmans, Sher Bahadur, the king's illegitimate brother, driven to desperation by an order which, he believed, menaced his own life, stabbed

Rana Bahadur in his own palace. The next moment he fell beneath the sword of Bala Narsingh, the father of the great Nepalese statesman, Jang Bahadur. Bhim Sen compelled the slave queen to perform *sati* on the funeral pyre of her husband, and Queen Tripura succeeded to the regency and maintained it for the next twenty-eight years.

But the cloud of a greater disturbance had already risen above the horizon of Nepal. The trouble with the Indian Government was due to a variety of causes. The East India Company was not at this time in a strong position in the north of India. There was no real peace in the north or west. The Peshwa sullenly bided his time, and the other Maratha chiefs allowed a continuous policy of revolt against British suzerainty to be spread throughout and from their own dominions. Scindia and Holkar were carrying on a systematic oppression of the weakened Rajput states, and in the Deccan the whole country was in a condition of disorder, complicated by the everlasting brigandage of the Pindari horsemen.

Nor was the position of affairs farther north much better. Ranjit Singh, too, was waiting for the hour to strike. Only the south and Bengal were really in a state of rest. The kingdom of Audh, for which, of course, the Company were in no way responsible, was indeed isolated by British territory, but it formed a centre for perpetual intrigue, and its influence in the policy which Nepal adopted at this period has never been sufficiently considered. The expansion of Nepal east and west did not immediately affect the Indian Government, but it became another matter when, encouraged by our preoccupation in other directions, the Gurkhas advanced south into the fertile Tarai, the lack of opposition encouraging them to a still further removing of their neighbours' landmarks.

This went on for seven years, and about two hundred villages had been quietly annexed by Bhim Sen, when a Commission was appointed to enquire into the matter. On this Commission was a Nepalese representative, but when a partial report was issued in favour of the British claims, the Nepalese Commissioner with his colleagues retired, and returned to Katmandu. Here they so reported things that the Nepalese Government took no steps in accordance with the interim finding of the Commission. Even then Bhim Sen did not grasp the situation. It is difficult to believe that a man of his shrewdness and capacity did not recognize the hopelessness of challenging the Company; he may have felt that, in the circumstances, no other course was open to him, but if so he carried his bravado with a high head to the end.

The Indian Government was at last aroused to the danger of allowing this steady penetration of the Gorakhpur district, and the news that in 1813 Nepal had sent for help to her suzerain, China, and was making military preparations on a large scale, was scarcely as convincing as the news that the chauvinism of the younger generation had been gravely

opposed by the very chief, Amar Singh Thapa, who had conquered for his countrymen Garhwal and Kumaon. He warned Bhim Sen, whom he charged with being at the head of this movement against the English; asserting that he had lived a soft life and knew nothing of the facts of war. But Bhim Sen won the day, the preparations for war went on, and reluctantly enough Lord Moira, the Governor-General, closed the discussion. He abruptly demanded the evacuation within twenty-five days by the Nepalese troops of the villages they had taken. The districts that had been occupied in the Gorakhpur Tarai were reoccupied by the English in April 1814. The Gurkhas made no attempt to resist them, and no doubt it was due to this apparent submission that the East India Company's forces were withdrawn during the rainy season, in which the Gorakhpur Tarai has a reputation for unhealthiness almost equal to that of the Nepalese Tarai, more to the east. Their places were taken by native police. ✓

On 29th May and on other dates, the Nepalese troops raided the territory and put to death many of the police. A last chance of settlement was given to the Government of Nepal, but this the Gurkhas refused even to answer, and this ultimatum having failed, a state of war existed and a concentration of the Company's forces was ordered for 1st November 1814. By means which do not reflect credit upon the representative of the Indian Government in Lucknow, the King of Audh was induced to make an advance of no less than two crores of rupees, or about £2,000,000 sterling, partly to gain favour with the Indian Government and partly also to weaken the power of Nepal, which had not spared his territories any more than she had spared those of the Company.

In addition to the regular forces, a large number of buccaneering companies volunteered their services to the Indian Government, and were accepted. No doubt it was due to the presence of these undisciplined troops, effective as they were at times, that failure attended the first efforts of the British to make any headway against the gallant and well-trained mountaineers.¹

An excellent description of this small war has been written by "Alkhanzir"—a name which conceals an Indian officer well qualified to write upon this particular period in the history of the Indian Army. He notes that that army found itself engaged for the first time in mountain warfare. But he frankly adds that the low level of efficiency to which the army of the period had been allowed to sink, and the characteristics of the commanders were equal factors in bringing about the disasters of the first

¹ It appears from the narrative of John Shipp that two deserters from the East India Company's forces, named Browne and Bell, had found refuge in Katmandu, and had at once been used by the Nepalese Darbar for the purpose of training their army. These two men were dismissed from the Nepal service, and apparently expelled from Nepal on the outbreak of war.

year. "With very few exceptions, age and inefficiency seem to have been the sole qualifications of our generals."

Lord Moira himself appears to have planned the campaign. Briefly stated, his strange strategy suggested the division of the forces under his control into four separate armies under the command from west to east of Major-Generals Ochterlony, Gillespie, Wood, and Marley respectively. Of these four divisions, at first only that under General Ochterlony was successful. Of the others the tale is dreary reading indeed. Generals broke down either in health or nerves; they were victims of every spy in the enemy's pay; again and again movements that should have been simultaneous were defeated by the defection of one or more of the combined forces. It was, of course, difficult to use scouts in the thick jungle of the Tarai, but again and again the Company's men found themselves confronting well-placed forts which they were totally unable to storm or even approach; marching and counter-marching characterized the manoeuvres of the two eastern divisions.

That under General Gillespie suffered from no such want of vigour or decision. But he, too, found himself opposed by the fort of Kalanga near Dehra Dun. The defences were solid, and the place was defended by six hundred men. Gillespie determined to take Kalanga by assault, and arranged for a simultaneous attack by the four columns into which he divided his men. "But Gillespie was an impatient old gentleman. When morning dawned he ordered the signal to be fired much earlier than he had given the columns to expect, and three out of the four failed to hear it." The attempt of the fourth column failed with heavy loss. Seeing this, Gillespie sent up three companies of the 53rd and a dismounted squadron of his cavalry and, true to his reputation for gallantry, he led them forward in person. The 53rd, who were in a sullen mood, would not advance. It may have been that Gillespie had underrated the practical impossibility of scaling the high stone-built walls of Kalanga, but the fact remains that he went on with the dismounted squadron. He was killed within thirty yards of the fort gate.

Twenty officers and two hundred and fifty men were lost in this attempt, and the division retreated to Dehra Dun to await a battering train from Delhi, but its arrival did not turn the scales of war. It is true that Kalanga was deserted by the Nepalese after they had lost from shell fire five hundred and twenty of their men, but it is unquestionable that their gallant defence had a great effect in putting heart into the mountaineers.

Gillespie was succeeded by Major-General Martindell, who moved to the north-west where he prepared to attack Jaitak on the 27th of December. It is unnecessary to recall the details of this ill-conceived attack. To quote the words of "Alkhanzir": "A book might be written on the mistakes of those twenty-four hours alone." The result of it was that Martindell

sent back word that he could not adopt further defensive measures until he had received reinforcements.¹

But meanwhile Ochterlony was carrying on steadily and skilfully the work that had been entrusted to him on the west, although he probably had a harder task than any of his colleagues. He was operating on the left bank of the Sutlej, and he had against him by far the most capable soldier in Nepal—Amar Singh Thapa—with three thousand picked troops. Amar Singh knew military skill when he met it, and his despatches to the Nepalese Government began to suggest that he was unable to choose his own time or place for his actions.

At last, on the 15th of May, at Malann, he made honourable terms with Ochterlony. But those terms, though they included the retirement of the Gurkha troops with the full honours of war, insisted also upon the evacuation by the Gurkhas of the whole of their territory from the Sutlej to the Kali river, a territory roughly corresponding to our present districts of Garhwal, Kumaon, and Simla.

The story of this first part of the Gurkha war may conclude with a reference to Gardner's irregular force, which had been sent forward by the Governor-General upon the news that Martindell was immobilized before Jaitak. Gardner stormed Almora on the 25th April 1815 and occupied Kumaon.²

But the Councillors of the Nepalese State had received from other quarters assurances of a general movement to fall upon the British intruders in India. Ranjit Singh was mobilizing his Sikhs; the lawlessness of the Marathas had increased, and the offer of Amir Khan to send Pathans to the assistance of the British was scarcely less than an insult.

This news encouraged the Nepalese to procrastinate and eventually to refuse to ratify Amar Singh's terms, which, after half a year's strenuous negotiation, had been made the basis of a definite treaty of peace in November 1815. The clause in the treaty which actually brought about the second act of this tragedy was the claim of the Government of India to the Tarai, in which many of the Nepalese bharadars had their jagirs. Lord Moira was determined to obtain this strip of land, and even offered to pay for it an annual subsidy of two or three lakhs of rupees.

At the end of January 1816 a second advance was made from Saran. The command was, of course, given to General Ochterlony. His general instructions were to advance upon Katmandu by the direct route which

¹ Lord Moira's explanation of the selection of General Martindell is remarkable. He says that it "was founded on the hope that the occurrences attending his command in Rewa in the year 1813 would have stimulated him to exert himself in regaining the ground he had lost in the public estimation on that occasion, and, more than all, the difficulty of finding any other unemployed officer of rank sufficient to exercise so large a command"

² In 1814 the Gurkhas sent their wounded into English camp hospitals.

had proved too much for Marley in the previous campaign. He marched directly upon his objective, and came in contact with the enemy at the Churia ghat which had been stockaded and well garrisoned by the Guikhas.



BHAIRAB-NATH TEMPLE, KIRTI PUR

Ochterlony's force consisted of about 13,000 regular troops and a large body of irregulars numbering perhaps 4,000 men. The General was in no mood to waste life by a frontal attack, and after a careful reconnaissance of the neighbouring country, he found a goat track a little to the west of the Churia pass road. Up this he pushed a detachment of light infantry,

and the Gurkhas, finding themselves outflanked, abandoned the Churia ghat and retreated to Sisagarhi, leaving the fortress of Makwanpur as the only serious military obstacle left in Ochterlony's road to Katmandu.

Here the General received reinforcements under Colonel Nicol, while an outlying post at Hariharpur was taken by Colonel Kelly. The Gurkhas made a gallant but hopeless resistance, and the loss of an outpost covering the entrance to Makwanpur decided the Nepalese to come to terms. ✓ Just as in 1792 the Government of Nepal made terms with the Chinese within a stage or two of the Valley, so on 28th February 1816 they were again prepared to ratify the treaty of the previous year rather than allow the entrance of English troops into the Valley. The ratified treaty, bearing the red seal of the Darbar, was brought to Ochterlony by the Nepalese Commissioner, and a peace was established on 4th March 1816 which has never been broken from that day to this. ✓

✓ But one clause in this treaty deserves more than a passing reference. By it the Nepal Government agreed to accept the presence in Katmandu of a British representative. This representative has a position which has been mistakenly compared to that of a Resident in one of our Native States in India. The functions of the office in Katmandu are entirely different from those of a Resident in India. In the latter place the Resident is ultimately responsible for representing to the Indian Government any condition of affairs within the State which, in his opinion, calls for the intervention of the Indian Government, and he is the instrument used by the Indian Government in the event of their deciding to take action.

In Nepal neither the Indian Government nor any other Government has any right of interference or intervention or even of offering advice. Nepal is an independent State, and the functions of the Envoy are simply those of a friendly observer whose duties are confined to reporting the chief events and tendencies in Nepal so far as they affect Indian interests, to acting as the official intermediary between the two Governments, and to supervising the issue of passports. From time to time he represents to Nepal any case of hardship about which a complaint has been made to him by an Indian subject, and on all ceremonial occasions he represents the King-Emperor in the capital.¹

¹ It will be seen that the British representative combines the duties of a Consul and the position and functions of a Minister. The special circumstances, however, which cause the foreign relations of Nepal to be dealt with in Simla rather than in London, the facts that the Resident, or, as he is now called, the Envoy, is drawn from the Indian services, and that by special agreement he possesses an escort of Indian soldiers for the maintenance of his dignity, illustrate the particularly close connection that exists between India and Nepal.

The Envoy lives in beautifully wooded grounds, a mile or so to the north of Katmandu. Within this reserve is the Legation—a building totally unworthy of our representative,

Edward Gardner was sent as the first British representative, but four years later his successor, Brian Houghton Hodgson, was appointed as his assistant, and it is to Hodgson that the world owes its first real knowledge, not only of Nepal but of that strange religion which, under the name of Lamaic Buddhism, dominates a far wider sphere than Nepal or Tibet. ✓

especially in view of the pitiful contrast it offers to the magnificent palaces of even the junior members of the governing family of Nepal—the lines of the Indian escort, the house occupied by the British surgeon, a post-office, and a small bungalow that is placed at the disposal of visiting officials and others. Originally it was regarded as the home of evil spirits, and was perhaps for that reason allotted to the unwelcome Resident in the early days of the nineteenth century; moreover, it had an ugly reputation for malaria. To-day it is the healthiest spot near Katmandu, and its gardens are as well tended as those of the Maharaja himself. Some of the most splendid trees of the Valley overshadow the home of the Envoy.

By the courtesy of the Nepal Government, the British representative has in addition a small bungalow at Kakani, on a saddle between the peaks hemming in the Valley to the north-west. This is an unpretentious little building, with one of the most magnificent views on earth. The whole range of the Central Himalayan system, from Mount Everest on the extreme east to Dhaulagiri on the west, is visible on a clear day, a white background for the wooded turmoil of valleys and hills that crowd down towards the valley of the Trisul Gandak at one's feet. At the extreme east of the Valley at Nagarkot also there is a building occasionally placed at the disposal of the Envoy by the courtesy of the Prime Minister. This is of a much more elaborate nature, but the nearness of Kakani is not the least of its charms.

CHAPTER V

BHIM SEN AND HODGSON

THE new king, the son of the Brahman bride, died in 1816 before he came of age, and Queen Tripura continued to act as regent on behalf of his son, Rajendra Vikram Shah.

During the whole of this time the real executive authority of Nepal was surrendered into the hands of Bhim Sen. For the greater part of thirty years he scarcely knew opposition; though there were moments when the old antagonism between the Thapas and the Panres threatened his office and even his life; and in the end it was a Panre who brought about his downfall. His was a life of contrasts, and no Greek tragedy has ever presented a more dramatic catastrophe than his fearful end. But during those three and thirty years Bhim Sen was Nepal, and Nepal was Bhim Sen. This is not the time to sum up his place among his two kinsmen, the other great rulers of Nepal, but it is right to say that it was upon the foundation that Bhim Sen laid that both Jang Bahadur and Chandra Sham Sher Jang built up the prosperity and sovereignty of Nepal. Sir William Hunter has summed up the problems with which he was confronted in a paragraph which I think it best to quote in its entirety.

"The secret of his long rule was that he thoroughly understood both the fears and the aspirations of the military tribes of Nepal. The fear of these brave mountaineers was the establishment of a British ascendancy; their aspiration was to extend their conquests at the expense of our Indian frontier. To the British he appeared to be a 'vigorous, ambitious, and unprincipled opponent.' To the Nepalese he seemed to be a stern master, whose yoke, though grievous to bear, was better than the evils which it averted. Bhim Sen was the first Nepalese statesman who grasped the meaning of the system of Protectorates which Lord Wellesley had carried out in India. He saw one Native State after another come within the net of British subsidiary alliances, and his policy was steadily directed to save Nepal from a similar fate. He also perceived that the Gurkha race, having conquered Nepal and the hill valleys eastwards and westwards at the foot of the great Himalayan wall on the north, had no further outlet for its warlike energy except southwards on the Indian plains. How to meet these two conditions, to stealthily encroach upon British territory and yet to prevent British reprisals which might bring Nepal under the British

ascendancy, were the almost irreconcilable tasks which Bhim Sen set before him."

At first Bhim Sen failed to understand that the East India Company of the nineteenth century was a very different antagonist from that which had intervened, somewhat timidly and ineffectually, during the previous



GENERAL BHIM SEN THAPA¹

thirty or forty years. He looked upon the Company as his foe rather than his friend. He was determined to see how far he could remove his neighbour's landmarks to the south without encountering serious opposition.

¹ The approximation to a British general's uniform can be traced in this portrait. It will also be noticed that Bhim Sen, like Ivan the Terrible of Russia, has given himself the Order of the Garter.

One by one the little villages of the Tarai were swallowed up by the quiet but persistent advance of the Nepalese, and we have seen the results of his policy.

The defeat of Nepal in the war of 1814-1816 left Bhim Sen in no small difficulty. The Chinese domination still weighed over the country. The extensions east, west, and south into Sikkim, Garhwal, and the Indian Tarai had been lost, but apparently the only result for Nepal of this war was the loss of the friendship of the English. On the other hand, Lord Hastings was involved in other directions, and he astutely realized that if treated with leniency, Nepal might become not merely a friendly state, but even a buffer between the arrogance of China and the as yet unsettled state of India. It may be believed that he was not unwilling to find a golden bridge by which these military mountaineers might with dignity retreat from the invasion of the plains to a position which gave them not only independence but the tacit co-operation of the Indian Government.

Bhim Sen rose to the occasion. With an ingenuity which was probably regarded by himself as a mere temporary expedient, but which, in fact, has coloured all the ensuing relations between India and Nepal, he pleaded the infancy of the Maharaja. This really irrelevant appeal *ad misericordiam* softened the ready heart of Lord Hastings to the extent of a retrocession to Nepal of that part of the Tarai which lies between the River Gandak on the east and on the west the Bahrni tributary, which falls into the Burhi Rapti near that town. This cession was nominally in exchange for the extinction of an annual subsidy of 200,000 rupees (£20,000). Bhim Sen was of a canny nature. The annual revenue of that part of the Tarai which was then given back to Nepal was estimated, eighteen years later, at 991,000 rupees.

The British, however, had no cause to regret an action which, as a matter of fact, was due rather to ignorance than generosity. The late campaign had taught the two opponents to respect each other. The confidential report of General Ochterlony to the Governor-General contained a frank admission that the Indian soldiers of the East India Company would never be able to hold their own against the Nepalese in their mountain fastnesses.¹ Pleasanter relations were thus established, and those relations have continued unbroken to this day. But Bhim Sen took some time to learn a lesson of confidence in the British. The delimitation of the frontier remained a matter for occasional but acute trouble between the authorities on either side of the unsettled line. The heavy demands made upon the military strength of the Company by the Maratha War assisted Bhim Sen in the policy of pin-pricks which he now adopted. As British Resident in Katmandu Gardner came in for more than his share of the trouble. He was

¹ "The Company's sepoy's could not be brought to match the Gurkhas."—*Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson*, by Sir William Hunter, p. 108.

boycotted with a completeness that made the acquisition of any information an extremely difficult matter. He was obliged to sit still while some of the regulations of the treaty were openly disregarded, and—a much more important matter—while the military preparations of Bhim Sen were yearly threatening the prospects of a British success should another Nepalese campaign be found inevitable.✓

Bhim Sen shortly found that money for the development of Nepal was necessary. He made an appeal to the Brahmans, but with little effect. In an unwise moment he took this matter into his own hands and, like Rana Bahadur, compelled the restoration to the State of the endowments which the Brahmans had enjoyed. He lived to regret it in the end. Tripura Sundari died, and thereafter there was nothing to hold Bhim Sen in check except the ill-concealed hostility of the Panre section and the smouldering hatred of the Brahmans. The chance that the first wife of the King, Rajendra Vikram, belonged to the Panre section, while the second ranged herself under the standard of the Thapas, did not make for peace within the palace. One of Brian Hodgson's earliest notes as British Resident in Nepal—a position to which he was appointed in 1833¹—is to the effect that Bhim Sen's power had undergone a serious check.

¹ Some time ago my attention was arrested by the remark of Mr. Cecil Bendall who, writing in 1886, while Hodgson was still alive, referred to him as "the greatest, and least thanked, of all our English Residents." It is difficult to dispute either adjective. Hodgson was indeed more than the greatest of English Residents. He was the founder of all our real knowledge of Buddhism. He was the only man whose infinite variety of scholarship and interest could, unaided, have written the true history of Nepal. There was, however, hardly a weapon in Fate's quiver that was not directed against this man. His health was such that his selection for a post at Katmandu was dictated chiefly by the simple fact that to appoint him to any office in the plains was a sentence of death. The querulous ingratitude of Lord Ellenborough has passed into a proverb; and the steady refusal of the Indian Government to show any sign whatever of their recognition of the devoted service and outstanding talents of Hodgson, was thrown into relief by the full measure of recognition and admiration which was shown to him by students and savants, not merely in England, but throughout the civilized world.

His early years may be passed over briefly. In Kumaon he began his hill training under the best master that he could have had, George William Traill, Commissioner of the district. He was afterwards sent to Nepal as assistant to Lieut.-Colonel the Hon. Edward Gardner. But it was not by any means a post that suggested to any of his colleagues or to himself the magnificent work that he was afterwards to do in Nepal. In 1822 Hodgson was appointed deputy secretary in the Persian Department in Calcutta. This post opened for him as brilliant a prospect as any that a young civilian could hope for, and with alacrity he abandoned the semi-imprisonment of the Residency grounds in Katmandu for new and responsible work—work for which his fluency in the Persian language, as well as his native talent, fitted him well.

But this ambition was denied him. In 1823 he found that his old lung trouble returned with increased gravity and, as Sir William Hunter puts it, the old alternative was once more forced upon him, an appointment in the hills or a grave in the plains. But his position in Nepal had been filled up, and for a short time he was obliged to take

When it came, the fall of the great Minister was theatrical and rapid. In 1833 the Maharaja, who had now come of age, insisted on asserting his authority. Bhim Sen seems to have been unsympathetic, and at once the elder of the two queens joined with the Brahmans in a sudden and violent denunciation of the Prime Minister. But so far, though willing to wound, the Maharaja was still afraid to strike. At the annual *Paijñi*¹ ceremony of this year, when each public office was automatically vacated and its previous occupants needed reconfirmation by the Maharaja if he was to continue in power, Rajendra Vikram took the unexpected step of failing to reappoint the Prime Minister. It is true that a few days later the Maharaja found himself compelled to recall Bhim Sen, but the fact that Rajendra had successfully asserted his authority against the hitherto omnipotent Minister showed that Bhim Sen's days were numbered. But it was not only in this rebellion against the tutelage of the sage and experienced Prime Minister that the Maharaja betrayed his intention of conducting the policy of his country.

At the close of the same year Brian Hodgson reported that a secret understanding had been made between Ranjit Singh and the Maharaja of Nepal. The rumour that Russia was contemplating an invasion of India induced Rajendra Vikram to send a messenger to Tehcran: and another season of aggression along the Indian frontiers was a third proof of the anti-English prejudices of the new regime in Nepal. But Rajendra was no Ranjit Singh. As Hodgson remarked, "the barometer of Nepalese hostility against us rises or falls with each rumour of our being in trouble with other States."

Such vindictiveness could perhaps be safely ignored by the East India Company. But it was another matter in Katmandu. Bhim Sen realized that, if he were not to be overwhelmed by the new power, he would have to pull every string that his long foresight had enabled him to control. He made an appeal to the militarism of Nepal, and at first met with considerable success. The Thapas were in possession of every provincial command throughout the country—with one exception. Militarism presupposes that the state suffering from this disease is perpetually on uneasy terms with its neighbours, and Nepal was no exception. Difficulties also arose from the different point of view which India and Nepal assumed in

up the postmastership at Katmandu. In 1825 the Assistant-Residency was again vacant, and Hodgson was at once reappointed to it. He knew that for the future his life and work would be restricted to Nepal. In 1829 Gardner somewhat unexpectedly retired and Hodgson became Acting Resident till 1831; but it was not until 1833, after the retirement of T. H. Maddock, that Hodgson was definitely appointed to the post of Resident. He accepted the post with the greater satisfaction because, both in Calcutta and in London, the higher officials of the East India Company had by this time come to recognize the unusual capacity, industry, and judgment of young Hodgson.

¹ This is frequently pronounced "Panjñi."

the matter of judicial procedure. Later in this chapter a short reference will be made to the persistence in Nepal of many of the conceptions of justice and its vindication which pervaded mediæval India. They represented a Hindu attitude towards human relations, and it was therefore difficult for the British and the Nepalese to come to any settlement of arguments based upon different premises.

✓Bhim Sen, however, had begun to realize that he could not any longer afford to ignore the overtures of the British Resident. He accepted Hodgson's proposal for a commercial treaty between India and Nepal. It was not agreed to by the Indian Government at that moment, but its



THE BHIMSENTHAN, KATMANDU

suggestion formed a new bond between the Prime Minister and the Resident. The chilly relations ✓between the two seem for the moment to have been somewhat thawed.

Meanwhile Bhim Sen's hereditary enemies were leaving no stone unturned to effect his downfall. They had much to revenge. They had bided their time until the friction between the Maharaja and their enemy had become acute. Then they felt themselves strong enough to range their forces on the same side as that of the Brahmans and the elder queen. To add to their confidence came the news of a foolish and ungrateful action on the part of Ranbir Singh, Bhim Sen's younger brother. Against the Prime Minister's express wish the latter intrigued for the position of Commander-in-Chief, and, succeeding in his purpose, he went on to propose

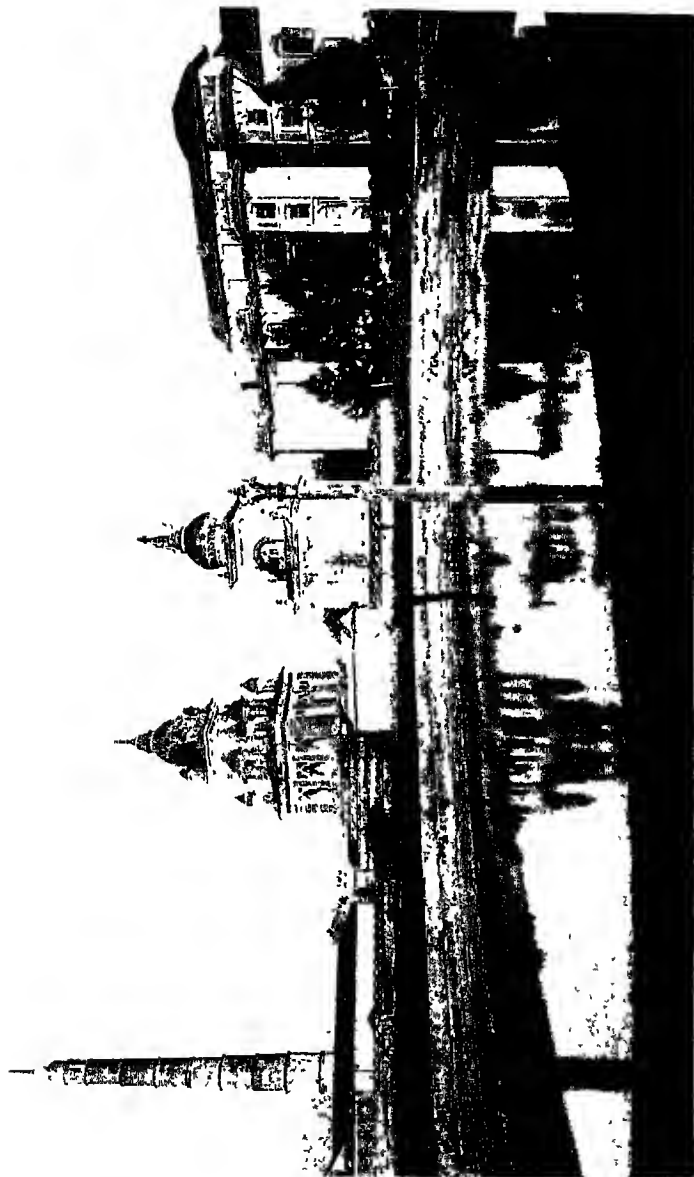
to the already swollen-headed Maharaja the dismissal of his elder brother and the appointment of himself as Prime Minister.

The lists were thus set, when into the arena rode a new and important competitor for power. Mathabar Singh, the nephew of both combatants, arrived to throw his strength loyally on the side of Bhim Sen. It was no mean assistance for his uncle, as he enjoyed a popularity in the army which the King dared not challenge. The Panres therefore adopted another policy. They made a sudden claim for the full restoration of their family honours and estates. Hodgson remarks: "This sudden revival of claims nearly extinct for thirty-one years, and after so complete an extirpation as the Kala Panres had undergone, through means of the very man now paramount in the State, stirs all with astonishment."

✓ We have seen that a temporary improvement had taken place in the relations between the Prime Minister and the British Resident. It was even suggested that Mathabar Singh should make a journey to England. This scheme, though inaugurated with great pomp in November 1835, came to nothing when it was explained to the Nepalese Government that Mathabar Singh could visit England only in a private capacity, and that he would be given no opportunity of settling or even discussing anything directly with William IV. In 1836 Hodgson was also able to arrange for a more or less satisfactory scheme of mutual extradition between India and Nepal. The proposed Treaty of Commerce, however, which was put forward at the same time, came to nothing, as Nepal still demanded a preferential tariff in her own favour. ✓

The unceasing intrigues of the Panres now found yet another opening for the exhibition of their hostility. Mathabar Singh was publicly charged by them with having lived with his late brother's widow. The offence was one that in a lower grade of life might have passed without any but the lightest criticism. In the adjoining country of Tibet the matrimonial eccentricity known as polyandry is the rule of the country, and among the Buddhist section of the Nepalese people the custom by which a woman married not only her husband but all her husband's brothers, was well known and accepted. Kirkpatrick, who knew the country in 1793, probably refers to this custom when he says that "the Newar women may, in fact, have as many husbands as they choose." It was perhaps felt that the accusation against Mathabar Singh was based upon mere prejudice, and it was abandoned, but the accuser was not punished, and Bhim Sen's supporters were made to realize, by the fact that it had ever been brought, that their leader's authority was on the wane. The next year, 1837, witnessed his downfall.

The quinquennial embassies which Nepal had agreed to send to Peking were the immediate cause of the trouble. Bhim Sen had always been able to secure for himself the control of this important deputation. The King,



BAGH DARBAR AT KATMANDU
(Residence of General Bhim Sen Thapa)

discontented as he was, dared not go so far as to appoint a member of the Panre faction as the head of this mission, but it was given, not to a partisan of Bhim Sen but to one of the Chautarias. The Brahman faction then made their attack, and Raghunath Pandit managed to obtain the position of Chief Justice. Hodgson, writing in June of this year, made a prophecy that was destined to be almost literally fulfilled. Mathabar Singh had just been dismissed from his position as head of the Government in Gorkha, and had been replaced by a son of Damodar Panre. While Hodgson was writing his report to the Governor-General, in which this prophecy is to be found, Ran Jang Panre was restored in lands, goods, and titles by the Maharaja. Startling as this action must have been, the sudden death on 24th July 1837 of the youngest son of the first queen precipitated a disaster. The Panres spread broadcast the rumour that Bhim Sen had really attempted to poison the Queen. Panic reigned in Katmandu. Ran Jang Panre persuaded the Maharaja to strike while the iron was hot. Bhim Sen was degraded, put in irons and imprisoned, and was shortly afterwards joined by Mathabar Singh. Ran Jang seized the reins of government, and the doctor who had attended the dead child was tortured till he bore witness against Bhim Sen. This was all that Ran Jang wanted. The wretched doctor was then either crucified or his tortures were continued until he succumbed. The other physicians in attendance were treated scarcely better, but not one of them was induced to corroborate the evidence of their unhappy colleague. Four years later the Panres confessed that the whole charge was an invention, brought with the sole purpose of bringing Bhim Sen's power to an end.

In the tangled condition of Nepalese political parties it was of course impossible to go as far as this without meeting with instant opposition. If this were possible against Bhim Sen, what security had anyone? The Chautarias made use of their personal connection with the Maharaja to enter a strong protest. Ran Jang was dismissed, and Raghunath Pandit, the Brahman candidate, became a stop-gap Prime Minister. Bhim Sen and Mathabar Singh were released, and they received from the army a welcome that was as remarkable as it is almost inconceivable in view of the events of the next two years. It is true that Ran Jang was solaced for his loss of the premiership by his appointment as Commander-in-Chief, and he at once set himself to counteract the affection which the army had so manifestly displayed for the leaders of the Thapa faction.

Bhim Sen retired into private life, but could not escape the popularity which he had earned as much by his recent misfortune as by his long services. Ran Jang became nervous and asked that he might retire to Benares and take up a religious life. But, probably in response to the protests of the senior queen, the King refused permission. Mathabar Singh took advantage of the reaction to make his way across the frontier to Lahore, where he

was welcomed by Ranjit Singh. Prime Minister after Prime Minister strutted his appointed month or so upon this unreal stage, until at the beginning of the year 1839 Ran Jang again assumed command of the anti-Thapa forces.

This time Ran Jang was determined to make no mistake about Bhim Sen. His first action was to resurrect the old charge of poisoning which had been in abeyance for the previous two years. This action deceived no one, and almost without the pretence of trial, the old servant of Nepal was thrown into prison, and there treated with a brutality which is almost beyond the power of words to describe. Ran Jang dared not have recourse to actual assassination, but he gave the strictest orders that Bhim Sen was to be treated with a carefully calculated savagery which would in no long time drive him to suicide. Sunk in an underground cell, less a prison than a ditch of filth, cut off from the light of day and almost starved, Bhim Sen still held his own against fate, until the terrible news was told him that his wife had been compelled by Ran Jang to walk the streets of Katmandu in full daylight entirely naked. It is not certain whether this brutality was actually carried out: it is, however, certain that Bhim Sen was informed that it had been. The old man then gave up the struggle, and taking the kukhri, which his ingenious tormentors had always permitted him to retain, he struck himself a blow in the throat which nine days later put an end to as tragic a life as even the history of Asia can provide. "His corpse was refused funeral rites but dismembered and exposed about the city, after which the mangled remains were thrown away on the river-side, where none but the dog and vulture dared further heed them."

"Thus has perished," wrote Hodgson to the Governor-General on 30th July, the day after Bhim Sen's death, "the great and able statesman, who for more than thirty years had ruled this kingdom with more than regal sway; just two years after his sudden fall from power in 1837—prior to which event the uniform success of nearly all his measures had been no less remarkable than the energy and sagacity which so much promoted that success. He was, indeed, a man born to exercise dominion over his fellows, alike by the means of command and of persuasion. Nor am I aware of any native statesman of recent times, except Ranjit Singh, who is, all things considered, worthy to be compared with the late General Bhim Sen of Nepal."

✓ Before the corpse of his victim was cold, the Maharaja realized the mad folly of Ran Jang's action. He hurried to the Residency and endeavoured to offer an excuse for the horror that had been committed. Hodgson listened in silence, and then coldly declined either to accept these excuses or to express any opinion whatever upon what the Government of Nepal had seen fit to do.

Ran Jang and the Queen were not content with this savage revenge. In an edict, which, in view of the subsequent history of Nepal, deserves to be remembered, they confiscated the landed property of Bhim Sen's family, and they annulled all grants of land made by him or Queen Tripura for the last thirty-five years. But their most remarkable achievement was a proclamation, issued on the day after the semi-imbecile Maharaja had visited the Residency, which declared the whole clan of Thapa excluded from public office or State employment for seven generations. Three years later the Thapas were recalled to power, and descendants of that family have from that day to this enjoyed an exclusive and even autocratic authority in the State.

✓ But if Hodgson declined to express his opinion of the behaviour of Ran Jang and the Queen, the Governor-General, Lord Auckland, had no such reticence. "The Governor-General views with feelings of extreme disgust and abhorrence," wrote his secretary to Hodgson, "the measures of indignity, insult, and cruelty which the Government of Nepal has adopted towards the late and able minister of that State." Armed with this communication, which in some measure resembled a papal threat of interdict, Hodgson was able to win away the weak-witted Maharaja from the military party headed by Ran Jang, in spite of the vigorous efforts of the latter. Ran Jang caused a military census of Nepal to be taken, which gave the ludicrous number of four hundred thousand men as fitted to take the field: he started a foundry where weapons of varying degrees of efficiency were cast, and he ordered the preparation of nearly a million pounds of gunpowder: and on the top of it all he spread widecast Brahman prophecies of the impending fall of the British authority in India. Hodgson ignored the war party and all its works, and concentrated himself upon a new *modus vivendi* between India and Nepal, the gist of which was the regulation of all customs duties, judicial procedure, and the prevention of intrigues with disaffected Indian states. ✓

✓ But Hodgson was unable to interfere in palace intrigues. The senior Queen and Ran Jang, realizing the importance of ridding themselves of the influence of the junior Queen, made an attempt to bring about her disgrace and even death. In 1840 things came to another crisis. The senior Queen committed the folly of attempting to get Hodgson dismissed by endeavouring to entangle him in a court scandal, of a kind that, though of grave importance to the superstitious in Nepal, could only arouse a smile in an English reader. Hodgson's prudence saved the situation, and this tempestuous woman then adopted another and more popular method of discrediting the English. A few armed Gurkhas had raided British India and held Ramnagar for ransom. They then demanded the submission of ninety-one villages on British territory, announcing that these lands had been annexed *proprio motu* by the Government of Nepal. "In fact,"

writes Lieutenant Nicholetts, the Assistant Resident, "a large tract of country, eight or nine miles broad by twenty or twenty-five in length, had been entirely cut off from the British dominions."

Hodgson at once demanded withdrawal, full compensation, and a formal apology to the Governor-General. The Queen and Ran Jang still needed time in which to complete their preparations. They therefore delayed an answer to the remonstrances of the Resident, and arranged for a general outbreak of the Nepalese troops in Katmandu on 21st June 1840. A grand parade of six thousand men had been arranged, and the announcement was to be made to them that, under orders from the Indian Government, their pay was to be reduced. In order to lend colour to this preposterous statement Hodgson had been detained at night at the palace, and this carefully arranged mutiny was actually begun. A large body of soldiers marched upon the Residency, but, once there, Hodgson's personal popularity caused them to halt. They decided that they could only massacre the British representative and his staff if they had an order under the red seal (Lal-mohar) of the King himself, and returned to the palace to obtain it. The Queen, anxious to be well away from the disorder she had created, had that morning left the capital. In her absence it was easier for Hodgson to deal with this half-tragic, half-theatrical plot. The Nepal Government was officially informed by his head clerk that messages had already been sent by the Resident to the Indian Government informing it of this treacherous scheme.

Throughout this hazardous time Hodgson's diplomacy never failed. Had he been drawn by the Queen into the quarrel which she had planned, his life and those of his companions would have been taken in the royal palace on the previous night. On the next morning his quiet courage again saved the lives of all within the Residency walls. Down in the city there was grave trouble. The palace of the Prime Minister and those of five other members of the ministry were sacked, and the soldiers demanded that the Maharaja himself should take up their cause. On the 22nd the Maharaja was compelled to meet his troops, and on the following day he seems to have somewhat eased the situation by an assurance that in reducing the pay of his troops his sole intention was to accumulate sufficient money to justify an invasion of India. The appeal was instantly successful—in fact, too successful.¹ The Gurkhas clamoured to be led against the

¹ The representatives of the soldiers harangued the Maharaja on parade. "It is true that the English Government is great; but do the wild dogs of Nepal care how large the herd is that they attack? They are sure to get their bellies filled. You want no money for making war; for the war shall support itself. We will plunder Lucknow and Patna. But first we must get rid of the Resident, who sees and forestalls all. We must be able, unseen, to watch the moment of attack. It will soon come; it *is* come. Give the word and we will destroy the Resident. We shall soon make the Ganges your boundary. If the English, as they say, are your friends, and want peace, why do they keep possession

British—a demand with which the senior Queen and Ran Jang might perhaps have temporized. But old friendship was forgotten and, with one of those *volte-face* with which the reader is probably becoming familiar, the army demanded that Hodgson and his staff should at once be put to death.

The situation somewhat resembled that which prevailed during the Boxer troubles in Peking in 1900. The Queen, no unworthy forerunner of the famous Dowager Empress, had organized the rising. Like Tz'u Hsi, she directed it against the foreign intruders into the country. The hope of both women had been that these aliens would be annihilated before any direct responsibility could be attached to themselves. This hope proved ill-founded, and when the Queen of Nepal in 1840—like the Dowager Empress in 1900—was called upon to give official sanction to the massacre, her resolution was sicklied o'er by the pale cast of thought. The plot had failed. Hodgson's *munshi* made his way to the palace "and acquainted the Darbar that the pretence of mutiny to cover violence was transparent, that intelligence to that effect had been transmitted to the Governor-General by two different channels, and that the messengers had already got clear off towards the plains. The effect of this double move by the soldiers and by the Resident was to put a quiet extinguisher on a ruse of the Darbar which might easily have resulted in a scene of bloodshed, *furens quid femina possit* being an old truth."

Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, at last realized that action had to be taken. The Ramnagar territory was still occupied by the Gurkhas. An official ultimatum from Calcutta was forwarded through Hodgson to the Nepal Government. The intruders were then withdrawn by the Queen, and for the next three months a series of internal dissensions within the ministry co-operated with Hodgson's efforts from outside to get rid of the men who had been responsible for the recent crisis. It will be seen that his conception of his position was radically different from that of his successors, but he had the direct instructions of the Governor-General and could not deviate from them.

He was successful. On 1st November Ran Jang was dismissed, and in his place another Chautaria was set up as a puppet premier. The Brahmans sided with the new Cabinet, and the senior Queen had for the moment to content herself with nursing schemes for future vengeance. In January 1841 the Maharaja drew up for presentation to Hodgson a list of the new ministers who, he assured the Resident, had been given strict orders to do all that was possible to renew the friendship between India and Nepal. This action was received with enthusiasm by the Chautarias, the Brahmans, and the landowners. But the bitter hostility with which the Queen received

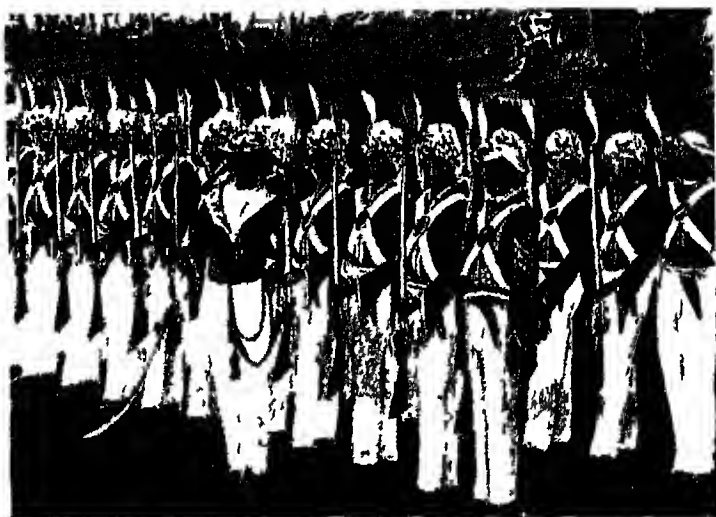
of half your dominions? Let them restore Kumaon and Sikkim. These are yours; demand them back. If they refuse, drive out the Resident, and let us have war."

the information may be imagined. She adopted the usual device of an unsuccessful member of the royal family of Nepal. She set off on the well-trodden track to Benares. The Maharaja immediately followed, intending either to bring her back or to join her in her retreat in the holy city. Lord Auckland, with some wit, made the lack of a passport into India the reason why Hodgson must persuade the Maharaja and his consort to abandon the scheme. This had the desired effect, and the Queen went back. So fickle were the affections of the good people of Katmandu that her return was hailed with ecstasy by the common people, and a violent attack was made against the ministry of Chautarias and Brahmans. Elated by her unexpected popularity, the Queen now determined to compel the abdication of her husband, and as regent to retain all power in her own hands until her son should come of age. In a moment the pleasanter atmosphere that Hodgson had just succeeded in creating gave place to one of bitter and open hostility. Hodgson dealt with the position simply and prudently. The crisis passed, and a mild form of resentment and unrest gave place to the active troubles of the summer. The pendulum once again swung over towards the British, and once again the failure of her schemes induced the Queen to abandon Katmandu for the holy shades of Benares. Once again the comedy of pursuit and return would no doubt have been enacted, but, perhaps for the good of all concerned, the unhappy woman went down with a severe attack of *awal*, and on 6th October 1841 she died in the Tarai.

Thus was removed the gravest—almost the last—danger to peace between Nepal and her great southern neighbour. It had been an escape, the narrowness of which has never been entirely realized. There can be no doubt that the senior Queen was continually in touch, not only with the disaffected elements in India, such as Gwalior, Baroda, Jodhpur, Jaipur, and Dhulip Singh—who had just succeeded the “Lion of the Panjab”—but with Afghanistan also, and the disaster of January 1842, when Dr. Brydon, the one survivor of eight thousand troops from India, made his solitary way into Jalalabad, would almost certainly have provoked in her passionate and ill-balanced mind a determination once more to try conclusions with the noted East India Company. But the death of the Queen brought about a general reaction from her hostile policy, and the Maharaja instantly offered the services of the Nepalese forces for use by the Company either in Burma or Afghanistan as the Governor-General might think fit. Lord Auckland did not accept this offer, but in a letter dated 22nd January 1842 reference is made to a friendly co-operation between the two countries. This has not only been of the greatest benefit to both, but more than any other factor has contributed to the genuine affection which now binds together our soldiers and the sturdy, unfailing Gurkhas on many fronts of peace and war. In this letter Lord Auckland uses these phrases: “Under these circumstances I should have no immediate means of availing myself

of the services of the Gurkha army. But I duly appreciate their value as brave and well-disciplined soldiers, and if any future occasion should arise when they might co-operate with the British forces it would afford me the greatest satisfaction to see the Gurkha and the British soldier marching side by side as friends and allies to the attack of a common enemy."

Hodgson had never been blind to the fighting capacity of the Gurkha troops. The original suggestion for their use in the Indian Army is to be credited to General Ochterlony, who had had good reason to realize their military efficiency in 1814. On his advice the Governor-General enlisted four Gurkha regiments from the Nepalese troops that were then disbanded.



NEPALESE SOLDIERS, 1813-1837

But they seem to have been reckoned of no great account, and in 1825 Sir Edward Paget, the Commander-in-Chief in India, suggested that they should be kept up to strength by direct recruitment in Nepal. Mr. Gardner was then Resident, and was of the opinion that it would be better to come to an arrangement with the Nepalese Government for the service of a portion of their organized troops as mercenaries. He believed "that even on entering our service, the Gurkhas would not separate themselves entirely from their native country, as they could not remove their families from Nepal," and he opined that, however faithfully they might conduct themselves on general occasions, in the event of any future rupture between India and Nepal, they possessed that feeling of patriotism which would induce the greater part of them to adhere decidedly to their natural

allegiance.¹ But Mr. Gardner's proposal, though it met with the approval of Bhim Sen, was rejected by the Government of India, which was traditionally opposed to the inclusion of mercenaries in its army.

Hodgson viewed the matter from another point of view, and he was supported by Sir H. Maddock. In 1832 Hodgson sums up the advantages of enlisting Gurkhas in the Indian Army as regular soldiers. "These Highland soldiers, who despatch their meal in half an hour, and satisfy the ceremonial law by merely washing their hands and face and taking off their turbans before cooking, laugh at the pharisaical rigour of our sepoys, who must bathe from head to foot and make puja ere they begin to dress their dinner; must eat nearly naked in the coldest weather, and cannot be in marching trim again in less than three hours—the best part of the day. In war, the former carry several days' provisions on their backs; the latter would deem such an act intolerably degrading. The former see in foreign service nothing but the prospect of gain and glory; the latter can discover in it nothing but pollution and peril from unclean men, and terrible wizards and goblins and evil spirits.

"In masses, the former have that indomitable confidence, each in all, which grows out of national integrity and success; the latter can have no idea of this sentiment, which, however, maintains the union and resolution of multitudes in peril better than all other human bonds whatever.

"I calculate that there are at this time in Nepal no less than 30,000 Dhakeriahs, or soldiers off the roll by rotation, belonging to the Khas, Muggurs, and Gurung tribes. I am not sure that there exists any insuperable obstacle to our obtaining, in one form or other, the services of a large body of these men; and such are their energy of character, love of enterprise, and freedom from the shackles of caste, that I am well assured their services, if obtained, would soon come to be most highly prized. In my humble opinion they are by far the best soldiers in India, and if they are made participators of our renown in arms, I conceive that their gallant spirit and unadulterated military habits might be relied on for fidelity; and that our good and regular pay, and



SOLDIER, 1830-1859

¹ *Principal Transactions*, para. 64.

noble pension establishment, would serve to counterpoise the influence of nationality."

But Hodgson's suggestion was prompted also by a wish to deal in a practical manner with the danger of the ever-growing militarism of Nepal. He foresaw this difficulty as one of the most serious threats to the peace and order of Nepal and of the frontier. He failed in this effort to draw off into the Indian Army a large proportion of men who had been trained to no other service but that of arms, and thenceforward turned his attention to the development of the trade of Nepal. His views are summed up in two despatches, dated respectively 8th March 1830 and 1st December 1831. He laid stress upon the neglect by Indian merchants of the main routes through Nepal. He gave lists of incredible length and detail dealing with the imports, exports, and transports that might be expected, and even summed up the number of merchants residing in the Valley with an estimate of the command of capital possessed by each one. As Sir William Hunter says, "Hodgson's main aim " was to convert Nepal from an interposing obstacle into a common mart where the merchants from Hindostan might interchange their commodities with the traders from Inner Asia." In doing so, Hodgson points out the importance to British trade of the fair way that would be thus secured.

He had the satisfaction of seeing this last proposal taken at once into serious consideration both in Katmandu and Calcutta. The benefit to both Nepal and India of these friendlier relations cannot be better shown than by a comparison of the 3,000,000 rupees worth of Nepalese imports and exports in 1830 with the 60,000,000 rupees of 1923.

The indefatigable industry of Hodgson did not stop here. He sent in to the Government of India in two documents, still preserved in Calcutta, a full and reasoned account of the judicial customs of Nepal. For an obvious reason his narrative possesses an interest that can be found nowhere else. In India the Moslem wiped out the last methods of Hindu legislation and government. In his later years Jang Bahadur began the radical reform of the judicial system of Nepal, and his work has been carried almost to completion by the present Prime Minister. Mr. Hodgson's questionnaire was presented to the recognized legal authorities of Nepal at a time when no reforming influence had changed the essentially and almost prehistorically Hindu nature of the law. Certain traditions apart, it is a remarkable testimony to the shrewd wisdom of early Hindu legislation. It comprised almost every aspect of the judicial system of the country. And it is to them, almost more than to any other source, that we turn instinctively for an understanding of the earlier practices and customs in India itself.¹

¹ The two papers were published in 1880 under the title of *Some Account of the Systems of Law and Police as recognised in the State of Nepal*. They will be found in vol. ii of Hodgson's *Miscellaneous Essays*.

It is impossible to quote at any length this long and learned dissertation, but the paragraphs dealing with the ordeal by water are even now of no small interest. The ordeal is called *nyaya*, and the form of it is as follows. "The names of the respective parties are inscribed on two pieces of paper, which are rolled up into balls, and then have *puja* offered to them. From each party a fine or fee of one rupee is taken: the balls are then affixed to staffs of reed, and two annas more are taken from each party. The reeds are then entrusted to two of the havildars of the Court to take to the Queen's Tank (the Rani Pokhri, immediately north of the Great Maidan), and with the havildars, an examining officer of the Court, a Brahman and the parties proceed thither, as also two men of the Chamakhalak (or leather worker) caste. On arriving at the Tank, the examining officer again exhorts the parties to avoid the ordeal by adopting some other mode of settling the business, the merits of which are only known to themselves." If they continue to insist on the ordeal, the two havildars enter the water about knee deep, one to the east and the other to the west, and set up the two reeds in the Tank. After an invocation to Varuna, the Brahman in charge gives the *tilak* or circular red spot on the foreheads of the two Chamakhalaks, saying: "Let the champion of truth win and let the false one's champion lose." The Chamakhalaks then separate, one going towards each reed, and enter the deeper water of the pool. A signal is given and both the men immerse themselves in the water at the same instant. Whichever of them first rises from the water, the reed nearest to him is instantly destroyed, together with the paper attached to it. The other reed is carried back to the Court, where the ball of paper is opened and the name of the victor read. Several public and private taxes are then paid, and the Court registers the decision.

It will be noticed that this form of ordeal is in its way an advance upon those practised in Europe in the Middle Ages. No question of the physical superiority of either claimant can influence the decision. The names are written secretly on the papers, and neither of the two Chamakhalaks has any idea of the litigant for whom he is attempting to secure a watery triumph. It is therefore a pure gamble, dependent neither upon skill, nor strength, nor endurance, and though it has since been abandoned, the obvious even chances thus offered of a rightful verdict appeal perhaps more to those accustomed to Oriental justice than to ourselves.

Besides the military and commercial schemes, Hodgson was at last partially successful in obtaining a definite delimitation of the frontiers of Nepal. In one or two places, those to the north still leave something to be desired, though the territory concerned is not of much importance, but the other sides of this mountainous rectangle are now definitely laid down. A good deal of trouble had been caused by the fact that, after our successful war of 1816, the western part of the Nepalese Tarai had been ceded to the King of Audh. For fourteen years the uncertainty of the actual frontier

had given rise to perpetual trouble, but in 1830 Bhim Sen consented to a definite delimitation by an impartial British officer in the presence of delegates from both Audh and Nepal. The eastern Tarai also had been somewhat complicated by our partial restoration of the territory to Nepal. But Hodgson was enabled to secure Bhim Sen's consent to an agreement in 1833.

Yet, in spite of the yeoman service that he was rendering to the Indian Government, Hodgson was the victim at this time of an intense depression. In a despatch to the Governor-General he acknowledges that he is bound to Nepal by choice and necessity, "by my feeble health and my peculiar pursuits, and having neither a wish nor a hope beyond what I possess." But he tells the Political Secretary, in terms which admit of no mistake, that the British Residency in Nepal was a mere farce. The Prime Minister lost no opportunity of offering petty affronts to a new Resident, and indeed to all connected with the Residency. Apart from this unworthy action, which casts more discredit upon Bhim Sen than anyone else, the Prime Minister, it is interesting to note, used to the full the tradition of a Chinese vassalage whenever Hodgson put forward a suggestion which the former wished to evade. We shall find later instances of this double game. It was a game that was played with equal dexterity in Peking, where the inability of Nepal to act counter to the wishes of India was not infrequently turned to diplomatic advantage. Hodgson, however, did not acquiesce in the gradual elimination of direct intercourse between the Residency and the Palace. He was convinced that the constant difficulties raised by the Prime Minister whenever the Resident sought an occasion to interview the King were symptoms of a perpetual wish to estrange Calcutta and Katmandu, and the forerunners of grave trouble for Nepal.

That evil days were coming was very evident, and Hodgson sent down to India a lucid and significant account of the final absorption of power by the Prime Minister of Nepal to the exclusion of the King. "The Raja is hemmed into his palace, beyond which he cannot stir unaccompanied by the Minister, and then only to the extent of a short ride or drive. Even within the walls of his palace the Minister and his brother both reside, the latter in the especial capacity of 'dry nurse' to His Highness.

"Last year the Raja desired to make an excursion into the lower hills to shoot. He was prevented by all sorts of idle tales and obstructions. This year he proposed visiting his palace at Nayakot, the winter residence of his fathers: again he was prevented as before. Of power he has not a particle, nor seems to wish it. Of patronage he has not a fraction; and is naturally galled at this, as well as at being sentinelled all round by Bhim Sen's creatures, even within his own abode, and at being debarred from almost all liberty of locomotion, and of intercourse with the sirdars and gentry of the country."

Hodgson goes on to point out that the Rani was by no means willing to put up with this royal servitude and, irritated by her husband's slowness, "has, it is said, avowed to his friends her resolution, should he not soon be moved to assert either his personal or political liberty, to claim the rule of the kingdom in his name as the mother of two male children." We have already seen the success which attended the Rani's schemes for the overthrow of Bhim Sen's authority which culminated in the tragic death of the former autocrat of Nepal.

It was not long before the pendulum oscillated once again. Friction soon broke out between the late Queen's eldest son, who had been wholly



THE DHARARA, OR BHIM SEN, TOWER, KATHMANDU

With statue of Jang Bahadur in foreground

under the influence of the Pancre, and the junior Queen who, having succeeded to the position of chief wife, lost no time in attempting to secure the succession for her own son. She pleaded that the existing heir apparent was mentally unfit. The charge might have been brought with more reason against his father. Some idle rumour appeared in an Anglo-Indian newspaper that the senior Queen had been poisoned. The Maharaja at once went to the British Lines and demanded from the Resident the surrender of the author of this slander. "Tell the Governor-General," he shouted, "that he must and shall give him up. I will have him and flay him alive, and rub him with salt and lemon till he dies. Further, tell the Governor-General that if this infamous calumniator is not delivered up, there shall be war between us." Realizing the folly of his father's attitude, the heir

apparent then intervened. He spared neither insults nor blows, and at last induced the Maharaja to make an apology to Hodgson. The picture is one that throws rather a lurid light upon the condition of domestic and political life that prevailed inside the palace of Katmandu. In April the Maharaja once more lost his head, but this time his son, again with abuse and again with blows, attempted to counsel Rajendra to carry out his purpose of violating the extra-territoriality of the Residency in order to arrest a Nepalese refugee. By this time the nobility of Nepal were as gravely perturbed by these royal eccentricities as was Hodgson himself. There can be no doubt that in all these excesses the latter was able to count in some measure upon the constant, if rather timid, support of the Nepalese aristocracy. It is not without interest to notice that, in order to smooth down the quarrel to which I have just referred, the Brahman Raghunath himself stood sponsor for the safe conduct of the man whom the Maharaja was endeavouring to wrest from British protection. Hodgson had deserved well of both countries. He had used a steadiness, a patience, and a diplomacy which, it is possible, might not have been forthcoming from any other servant of the Indian Government. On no less than four occasions he had averted the danger of war. He had used his personal influence with the semi-insane Maharaja so to conduct the policy of his country that the grave scandals of his administration did not bring about trouble with India. His despatches did not tell the whole story of his service. We have to read from the semi-official or private records of others the full tale of his achievement.

Unfortunately at this moment the Earl of Ellenborough was sent out as Governor-General in the place of Lord Auckland. The ignorance of this new Governor-General was only exceeded by his personal vanity.¹ So delicate a situation as that in Nepal was wholly beyond his comprehension. But Hodgson was as strong as the Governor-General was weak, and the Resident in Nepal declined to throw away the good results of the policy which Lord Ellenborough's predecessors had adopted towards that country. Naturally enough Hodgson received the private support of the more experienced members of the Indian Government. But the powers of the Governor-General in 1842 were even more autocratic than they are at this day, and in a fit of childish irritation Lord Ellenborough dismissed Hodgson on 21st June of that year. The weakness of the man passes belief. Scarcely a fortnight later the Governor-General was writing a friendly private letter to the man whom he had thus publicly insulted, practically apologizing for having to remove him while a change of policy was carried out. Twenty

¹ In 1843 Macaulay, speaking of Lord Ellenborough and the people of India, made the famous remark: "We have sometimes sent them Governors whom they loved, and sometimes Governors whom they feared, but they never before had a Governor at whom they laughed."

days later this vacillating official wrote again to say that he thought that after all Hodgson had better stay as Resident. It only needs to be added



MATHABAR SINGH

that Lord Ellenborough, whatever his unwisdom in other things, was cautious enough never to place on the files of the Indian Government his

despatch of 21st June recalling Hodgson from his work. It was not perhaps unreasonable that the Governor-General should advise an abandonment of the large part which the Resident had lately been playing in Nepalese politics. As a newcomer, he could not know that the assumption of this responsibility was the only means that Hodgson possessed of maintaining peace between Nepal and India at a time when the crushing disaster of Afghanistan had made it impossible for India to deal adequately with a northern trouble also. But the Governor-General made it clear that his actual intention was a wish to reverse and throw contempt upon a policy which was connected with the name of his predecessor.

Hodgson accepted his new instructions and carried them out to the best of his ability, but he could not so easily put an end to the habitual confidence which nearly all parties in Katmandu had come to repose in him. The chief faction that had always been frankly opposed to the Resident was, of course, that of the heir apparent, and, as Sir William Hunter remarks, the withdrawal of British opposition encouraged him to launch out again on his career of atrocities with a free hand. The King recognized the indignity of his own position. He was unable to prevent or even to criticize his subjects when, towards the end of the year 1842, they practically rose in revolt against the excesses of the Court. "The people complained that they could not obey two Masters, adducing numerous instances in which the Maharaja had allowed them to be punished by his son for obedience to his own commands, whilst for all the murders, maimings, beatings, and insults perpetrated by the heir apparent the Maharaja had evaded authorizing prevention or making atonement in a single instance." In this confusion the lady who was now the senior Queen and had always been a strong supporter of the Thapa faction, executed a *coup d'état*. She suddenly installed Mathabar Singh, nephew of Bhim Sen, as Prime Minister.

Mathabar took some time to make up his mind to abandon his not uncomfortable residence in Simla and the allowance which the Indian Government made him. The Queen determined to put an end to his hesitation by the assassination of the Panre leaders who had been the cause of his uncle's degradation and death.¹ But, once in power, the Queen found that Mathabar was no more willing than the late Coalition Government to set aside the rights of the heir apparent in favour of her own child. The year 1844 passed amid scenes of quarrel and intrigue that were none the less bitter for the absence of Brian Hodgson from the Residency. He had resigned in the previous year, and the removal of this sage counsellor was no doubt one of the causes which brought about the 'sanguinary changes

¹ It is to be noted that when Mathabar Singh put the Panie clan to death, they brought with them their own kukhries to the place of execution in order that death might not be prolonged.

in the government of Nepal that I shall have to record. For the last time the royal family of Nepal were playing the leading part in the administration of the country. Their tenure of authority ended in yet another repetition of the scenes of blood that have so frequently darkened the chronicles of the mountain kingdom.

Despairing of obtaining the support of Mathabar Singh, the Queen determined to get rid of him. A certain Gagan Singh, who was her lover, suggested that she should tell the King that Mathabar was on the point of compelling him to abdicate in favour of Prince Surendra, and should hint that this was only a temporary move to be succeeded by the supersession of the royal family by Mathabar himself.

The King was glad enough to hear that Mathabar could be removed, and he failed to see that the latter's absence would only transfer all power into the hands of the Queen and Gagan Singh. With Rajendra's consent arrangements were therefore made for the murder of Mathabar. Jang Bahadur was chosen as the instrument. At a personal interview the necessity was explained to him, and Jang received orders in so many words to carry out the murder of his uncle. To make the best of Jang Bahadur's subsequent action, it is necessary to remember a conversation that is said to have taken place not long before between Mathabar and his nephew, in which the Prime Minister strongly asserted the duty that lay upon all Nepalese subjects to obey the commands of the sovereign.¹ But a more compelling reason for obedience was that Jang Bahadur saw at once that either his own life or Mathabar's was doomed; and, moreover, that, even should he sacrifice his own by refusing the commission, Mathabar had in any case not many days to live. He therefore decided to carry out the assassination at once.

On the 17th May 1845 Mathabar was sent for to the palace. The King himself put a loaded rifle in Jang Bahadur's hand, and hid him behind a screen. Mathabar seems to have had some presentiment of trouble, but proceeded to the Queen's apartment. Jang Bahadur—by his own confession—killed him on the threshold.² The body was then thrown out of a window, and as a belated act of grace, was thence taken to Pashpati.

When the assassination could no longer be kept secret, it was allowed to be believed that, as the final Court of Justice in Nepal, the King himself had with his own hands executed Mathabar. The expression of Henry Lawrence—"Poor as is my opinion of Jang's moral character, I do believe

¹ This conversation seems to be an invention, somewhat clumsily concocted afterwards, to justify Jang Bahadur. One version says that Mathabar even went as far as to say that if he received orders to do so, Jang should not hesitate to kill the Prime Minister! In 1847, however, the King after deposition wrote to the Governor-General. "I sent for Jang Bahadur and ordered him to kill Mathabar Singh, threatening him with death if he refused to obey."

² Chap. vi, p. 116.

him guiltless of this murder"—only shows how difficult it is for men of high personal rectitude to believe in the criminality of those with whom they are brought into frequent and, on the whole, friendly contact.

A curious point is that Jang—who never showed more presence of mind than he did at this moment—at once commissioned his brothers, Rana Udip Singh and Bam Bahadur, to escort the dead man's son to the farthest village in the Valley on the road to India. The interesting point of this incident is that it marks the moment at which Jang Bahadur threw all convention to the winds and embarked, perhaps of necessity, upon the career than which no other was now possible to him—and was possible only because of his iron will and relentless ambition.



CHAPTER VI

JANG BAHADUR

"Jang Bahadur is not the man to let anybody get to windward of him very easily."—CAPT. FRANCIS EGERTON, R.N. *Journal of a Winter's Tour of India*, 1852.

FROM his lonely Residency Hodgson now looked down upon a plain seething with discord and intrigue. It may be useful to sum up this complicated situation by a reference to the able dissection of the position by Sir William Hunter. He points out that at this time there were seven different parties, all struggling for power, few or none of which remained in alliance with any other party for more than a few weeks, and none of which would be debarred by any moral sense from securing its ends.

First in point of honour if not of power was the King. He was bitterly conscious of the undignified and impotent position in which he was placed. Ranbir Singh had stirred in him the ambition of becoming the actual ruler of his country, and after his fall he identified himself with the Panre family. Such was his political short-sightedness that his only reason for doing so was the knowledge that they were opposed to the Thapa family which, represented by Bhim Sen, had been for so long in power. He can hardly be said to count, except as a ghostly War Lord whose influence over his troops was never actually put to the test, and as a religious personality whom the religious elements in Nepal consistently ignored.

Secondly, the senior Maharam had come for a time to the front, and had wholeheartedly supported the cause of the Panres. She had been influential enough to bring about the downfall of Bhim Sen, but there her influence ceased. After displays of ungovernable temper, she shook the dust of the Valley off her feet, two years after Bhim Sen's death, and, as has been said, fell a victim to the *awal* of the Tarai.

Thirdly, there was the junior Maharani, who espoused the cause of the Thapas. Probably more because she hated the senior Maharani than from any other reason, she conducted a struggle against the Panres which was of no small importance. For six years after the humiliation and death of Bhim Sen in 1839, she was a prominent figure on the Nepalese stage. She had courage as well as ambition. But in 1846 Jang Bahadur and the King exiled her to India.

Fourthly were the royal collaterals called the Chautarias, who had vaguely defined rights due to their cousinship with the King. During Bhim Sen's supremacy they had been disregarded as having no weight in public affairs; but, as has been said, after his death they put forward one or two inadequate leaders who, as Prime Ministers, never enjoyed either dignity or authority. They were practically exterminated in the massacre of the Kot in 1846.

It is here convenient to consider in the fifth place the always powerful faction of the Brahmans. Secure in their religious supremacy, they exercised a nominal authority and could be allowed by the two chief factions of the State to hold the reins of power from time to time—or to seem to do so—while the real battle was being fought out by men of action. Their head was Raghunath Pandit. He was typical of his caste. He accepted the office of Prime Minister on two occasions, but rapidly realized that the dangers of the post were far more serious than its dignities or emoluments. He was supported by no one, and always took the first opportunity to resign. His chief preoccupation during his term of office was the safety of his own person, and it was not of such men as he that a Governor of Nepal could be made during these terrible times.

Sixthly and seventhly were the great rival families. The Thapas had been guided by Bhim Sen. His disloyal brother, Ranbir, became a fakir, and from that moment disappeared from the scene.

Last of these factions was the clan of the Panres, who had suffered heavily at the hands of Bhim Sen in 1805. The leading members were executed, a large number of others were exiled, and the universal confiscation of the estates of the Panres completed for a time the extinction of their influence. But, as we have seen, Ran Jang, the son of the Panre Prime Minister who had been put to death by Bhim Sen, had a long and unforgiving memory. The senior Maharani encouraged his ambitions, and it was due to the machinations of these two that Bhim Sen was degraded in 1837 and compelled to commit suicide in 1839. But the achievement of his revenge was but Dead Sea fruit to Ran Jang. He was able to exert no real authority after the downfall of his enemy, and in 1843, when at the place of execution, was only saved from death by a contemptuous pardon as a man whose influence it was not worth while to end.

The chaos that had reigned during these thirteen years baffles description. Each party in turn clutched at power, and endeavoured to secure itself by the massacre of its rivals; each party in turn suffered within a few months the fate which it had meted out to its enemies. Only the sanctity of the Brahman party preserved its members from a similar fate.

But all the while, watching with infinite care from a place of temporary safety, there was a young man, Mathabar Singh's nephew, who, conscious both of his own capacity and strength of purpose, was biding his time for

an entrance upon the blood-darkened sand of the arena. With clear and determined eyes he watched from India the ebb and flow of fortune in Katmandu, though he may not then have realized the overwhelming part that he was to play in the settlement and security of Nepal. His name was Jang Bahadur, and during his early life his escapes—and indeed escapades—had been too widely known to suggest to the Nepalese that in him would be found the saviour of his country. But the sane and observing



JANG BAHADUR

✓ eye of Sir Henry Lawrence, then Resident in Katmandu, had already marked him down as a man of exceptional intelligence, and from him at least the life of brilliant vagabondage which Jang Bahadur had hitherto led had not obscured the capacity and the dominating personality of the man. Lawrence knew well enough that on the stage of Nepal it is character alone which controls the human drama. ✓

Of the ancestry of this man it is only necessary to note that he was the second son of Bala Narsingh, the son of Ranjit Kunwar. At the age of

twenty-two Bala Narsingh avenged the death of the King of Nepal by killing Sher Bahadur, the latter's step-brother and assassin. For this he received high honours, and the position of Kazi was made hereditary in what has since become the prime ministerial family. By his first wife he had only one son, Baktbir Kunwar. By his second wife, who was the daughter of Nain Singh, brother of Bhim Sen Thapa, he had seven sons and two daughters. Jang Bahadur was born on 18th June 1817, and although his parents had intended that he should be called Birner Singh, he was given the name of Jang Bahadur at the request of his uncle, Mathabar Singh.

Before dealing with the public life and work of one of the most interesting Asiatic leaders that history has known, it may be well to note some of the personal characteristics of the man. To the end of his life he remained a difficult man for even his nearest relations to approach. No doubt he felt—and rightly felt—that the manner in which he had climbed to power was one that some of his relations would never either forgive or forget. His personality secured him from open attack, but he took no risks. His bodyguard was always either with him or within instant call. In the Valley he never moved without a strong escort, and even in the hunting expeditions of which he was so fond, he was almost as carefully guarded as when he cantered across the Tundi Khel. His early years had done little to increase his confidence in man, and however disinclined we may be to condone the method by which he won his autocratic position, he would be a shallow observer who did not recognize in this terrible and lonely autocrat a figure that Aeschylus would have immortalized with something akin to reverence. For if ever the finger of Fate was made manifest in a nation's history, it was in the advancement to permanent power of Jang Bahadur. But it was at the cost of blood, of the surrender of nearly all human affections, of eternal suspicion, that the ascent was made, and—as we should not forget—there can have been no hope in the mind of this magnificent tyrant that any one of his family would have the ability to maintain and to carry out to the full the ambitions which had inspired him from his youth. He could not have foreseen that the present Prime Minister, Chandra Sham Sher, in many ways a greater man, could carry on the work that he himself had inherited from Bhim Sen. This indeed he had enlarged and transformed into a consistent and brilliant policy; but in Chandra's hands it received a greatness of interpretation which it was beyond the capacity of Jang Bahadur to accomplish.

Jang Bahadur had but one great interest outside his political life. He was a mighty hunter before the Lord. He was a first-class shot, and those who were present in Nepal at the time of the great shoot in 1876 in honour of King Edward VII, then Prince of Wales, will remember the way in which, after a fusillade from the royal party had vainly attempted to

stop a flying boar, Jang Bahadur, who had waited till the others had finished, brought it down clean at two hundred yards. At archery and horsemanship he was equally good. He was a fine wrestler, and delighted in fights between animals.¹

There was living in Katmandu an old man of eighty-six who for a long time was Jang Bahadur's personal guard. Probably better than any of the great Prime Minister's own family, does Major Khadga Singh Gurung remember the curious personality of his master. He had no fixed times for anything. He would rise at any time between five in the morning and ten o'clock. He was a quick-tempered man, and for the last year or two before his death, he became irritable and was provoked to anger by the slightest opposition. At the same time it is curious to note that he was always ready to listen to the other side of a question which was put before him by his own servants, and he was ready to admit it when they had right on their side. He was illiterate, but at more than one period of his life made attempts to master the English language. He liked to have the newspapers of India and England—there are no newspapers in Nepal—read and explained to him. He was economical in his management of his own household, and never cared to give away in charity more than thirty rupees at any one time. He had an inveterate liking for medicinal treatment. The medicines he used were Nepalese, not European, but he occasionally called in the professional services of Dr. Wright. Of his ready wit a certain number of illustrations have been handed down, of which the best known is his remark to Queen Victoria in London during a gala performance at the Opera. A distinguished prima donna had just given an exhibition of her powers, and Jang Bahadur applauded. The Queen, turning to him, said: "But you have not understood what she was singing." Jang Bahadur at once replied: "No, Madam, nor do I understand what the nightingales are saying." This made a good story, and it illustrates, not merely the quickness of Jang Bahadur, but his ability as a courtier; for he did not conceal the fact from his intimates that he considered the Opera a foolish and silly exhibition, not to be compared with that of an ordinary military brass band!

For the reasons that have been given, it is difficult to obtain any clear notion of Jang Bahadur's private life. He seems to have taken no one into his confidence, and it is therefore hard to reconcile the two sides that are constantly to be noted in his character. No one but a man of the firmest and most constant courage could have maintained himself against the persistent intrigues that he had to fight at home. No one but a man of foresight, broad judgment, and willingness to take responsibilities from which every other man of his day and his country would have flinched, could

¹ On one occasion during a duel between elephants, the mahout was thrown off. Without hesitation Jang Bahadur took his place.

have achieved his success in foreign policy. Yet at the same time there is equally conspicuous a childish petulance and an ever-present suspicion even of those who were most loyal to his interest. Moreover, the complete autocracy which Jang Bahadur exercised had its inevitable result. His horizon contracted.

One incident may be quoted to illustrate this weakness in a great man's character. In 1858 he sent, or rather caused to be sent by the King, two or three ill-conceived letters complaining of the discourtesy shown to him and to the Nepalese Government by Lieutenant-Colonel Ramsay, who was then Resident in Nepal. It will be remembered that the position of the British Resident in Katmandu had always been one of extreme delicacy. In 1816 General Ochterlony had, at the direction of the Honourable East India Company, and in pursuance of the policy they had adopted in 1792 and 1802, made the acceptance of a Resident one of the terms of peace with Nepal. In insisting upon this condition he had merely carried out his orders, and could not listen to the protests of the Nepalese. But it was unfortunate that, during the brief discussion, Ochterlony used a phrase which has always been resented by Nepal: "You must take either a Resident or war." The result was that a conventional observation of the exact terms of the protocol and often little more has marked the relations between the Residency and the Nepalese Government. This rarely affected the personal relations that existed between the Prime Minister and the British representative, which have often been of the most cordial nature. But where, as in the case of Colonel Ramsay, what might be almost called a personal dislike prevailed for a time between the two, it is clear that no necessity for official intercommunication was likely to bridge the gulf.

The grounds of complaint against Ramsay were chiefly of a trifling nature, and concerned incidents of mere routine. But the intolerant nature of Jang Bahadur prevented his seeing matters in their due proportion. It is deplorable that this quarrel should have taken place immediately after the months during which Jang Bahadur had rendered such yeoman service to the British cause in the Indian Mutiny. But it cannot be denied that it was probably as a result of the British Government's full recognition of those services that Jang Bahadur ever dared to make so astonishing a threat as that the King and the Government of Nepal would leave the Valley and take up their residence in some unapproachable part of Western Nepal unless the Resident were recalled. To this Lord Canning replied in two clearly written despatches, which left Jang Bahadur in no doubt whatever as to the small effect that he had produced in Calcutta. Colonel Ramsay was of course confirmed in his position, and indeed remained at Katmandu for several years. He was shortly afterwards commissioned to confer upon Jang Bahadur the dignity and insignia of a Grand Commander

of the Bath, and it seems that the old antagonism between the two men soon died out.

But Jang Bahadur was a man who made few friends, even among his own relations. He took a delight in sowing causes of quarrel and dissension among them, and his irritability is almost proverbial to this day. In the following account of his life, the foregoing sketch of his personality may usefully be borne in mind, and if it does not make much clearer the soul of that strong, unscrupulous, lonely, and petulant man, it may perhaps explain why, throughout his life, his relations with all with whom he came in contact were attended by a certain amount of difficulty.

Jang Bahadur appears with suddenness upon the scene of Nepalese drama. His father commanded the north-western district, and he was thus removed from the capital during his youth. Rumours of him as an independent and even undisciplined young ensign reached Katmandu from time to time. He was continually in trouble for escapades which, although never in themselves serious, were naturally regarded as subversive of discipline in the case of the son of the Kazi and Commanding General. His father found it quite impossible to control him, and all the evidence we have of this period of Jang Bahadur's life exhibits him as a young man capable at any moment of abandoning his military duties, as an expert gambler, and as a man who, impatient of the authority of those above him, had thrown in his lot with, and had in return secured the devoted affection of, the rank and file of the Nepalese army. He was a master in all forms of sport,¹ and soon found that the slender chances of the younger son of a younger son of a family by no means established in favour at the capital, were quite insufficient for his ambitions. His nature drove him on to a wider stage, and one day he committed the unpardonable offence of deserting his military duties and flying across the frontier into the territory of Ranjit Singh.

We have no record of the manner in which he occupied his time in India, but it does not seem that he received either attention or sympathy from the old Sikh king. Here, as in Nepal, he lived by his wits, but it is probable that in Lahore he found himself opposed by brains of a more subtle and experienced type, and it soon became obvious that the stock of money that he took away with him was insufficient for his needs. With an insouciance which was characteristic of the man, he shrugged his shoulders and returned to Nepal. Somewhat to his surprise perhaps, he found that his offence was not only readily pardoned, but that seemingly as a consequence of it, he received immediate promotion. This return to local military

¹ Jang Bahadur, after he with his father had been dismissed from office at the fall of Bhim Sen Thapa in 1837, conceived the idea of catching elephants single-handed in the Tarai, and thereby clearing off his debts. Though he afterwards performed, single-handed, far more unlikely feats, he was not successful on this occasion.

routine was the result only of financial stringency. But by one of those accidents which seem to mark the lives of men destined for great place, Mathabar Singh was at that moment raised to the position of Prime Minister in Katmandu. Jang Bahadur had not a moment's hesitation. He at once deserted for the second time, and made his way to the capital. His uncle seems to have had a shrewd idea of the mettle of this young man, and it has been noted that Sir Henry Lawrence, English Resident in Katmandu about this time, remarked upon the capacity and initiative of



KING RAJENDRA

Jang Bahadur. At the same time he makes the curious note that, in spite of his obvious capacity, Jang Bahadur was spending most of his time in designing new uniforms and new buttons. We have not to look far down the list of the greatest military leaders that the world has known without finding a curious parallel to this foible. Mathabar Singh seems to have watched his nephew wallowing in the swamp of intrigue through which Nepal seemed inevitably to flounder, and no doubt he soon realized, not only the defects but the capacity of this wayward but commanding character.

Mathabar seems wholly to have misunderstood the relations of Nepal with the Honourable East India Company, and lent a ready ear to the suggestions that continually reached him from India, demanding that he should take part with the still existing independent kingdoms of India against the encroachments of the English. He chose Jang Bahadur to accompany a mission to Benares, where an emissary from Lahore was to discuss the situation with a view to joint

hostile action. Like most of these mixed conspiracies, the matter was bungled from the start, and the British authorities contented themselves with sending back the members of the two delegations to their homes.

Jang Bahadur found himself at a loose end in Katmandu. He was now sufficiently well known to make his co-operation in Nepalese intrigue a matter of greater difficulty, an impediment which his near relationship to the Prime Minister increased. But the times were then suited for such men as he. The Government of Nepal, such as it was, was rent in pieces. The King himself was scarcely in a mental condition to understand the situation. The Rani had for the time being sided with Mathabar Singh,

and the three together exercised a general control over the policy of the State. But, as has been said, there was on the other hand the vigorous antagonism of the heir to the throne, Surendra Vikram. This young man seems to have combined in himself nearly all the most detestable qualities of an Oriental prince. It is not surprising that he concentrated his hatred against the nephew of the Prime Minister. The stories that are told, and which are no doubt true, of the means that the young prince adopted to kill Jang Bahadur form a series of legends that are still familiar to every man in the streets or fields of Nepal.

It is worth while perhaps to record one or two of these proofs of Surendra's blind and almost maniacal animosity. On one occasion Jang Bahadur and the prince approached a mountain torrent in spate, which, as is common in the case of the less important roads of Nepal, was crossed by a wooden bridge of two timbers' thickness. The prince ordered Jang, who was on horseback, to cross over to the other side, a dangerous task in itself. When he was in the middle of the bridge, the prince suddenly shouted to him an order to return. Inconceivable though it may seem, Jang, who had no doubt trained his horse better than any other man in Nepal, at once swung round upon his narrow foothold, and by little short of a miracle was able to return in safety to the prince. The intention of the prince was thenceforward so obvious that he scarcely troubled to conceal his wish to rid himself of Jang Bahadur.

An order once came to throw him down a well—a common though unhygienic method of disposing of an enemy. Jang had apparently anticipated something of the sort, and accepted the sentence without hesitation. He asked that he might be allowed to throw himself down, a request which was idly granted by the prince who, with a large retinue, came to see the end of this hated and mistrusted young hero. Jang leapt down and, after a heavy splash had assured the waiting crowd of his descent, the morning's recreation was over, and the assembly dispersed. But Jang had realized in the course of his studies that a man in full vigour, supported not only by the water but by the crannies and clefts in the circle of the well itself, might hold on in safety for several hours. Twelve or fifteen hours later his boon companions, who had been instructed in the part they were to play, came with a rope and drew him up. Prudence as well as exhaustion dictated his retreat to a place of concealment until the matter had blown over and an ebb in the authority of the prince enabled Jang to reappear in public.

A third story that is told about him is as extraordinary as the others. A male elephant in the neighbourhood of Katmandu went "must." On these occasions, of which a skilled mahout has full warning, the elephant is doubly shackled and left tied up until the fever is past. But on this occasion the elephant killed his mahout, broke loose, and became the terror of the neighbourhood. No one dared to undertake his capture, but his

depredations became so serious that Jang Bahadur determined to see what he could do to abate the nuisance. On the outskirts of Katmandu was a village lying among fields of maize, through which the half lunatic brute was in the habit of passing every evening. Jang Bahadur lay in wait for him, either on the projecting roof of a house or on the overhanging branch of a tree, and one evening as the elephant came underneath, he leapt or dropped upon his neck. A desperate struggle ensued, but Jang Bahadur managed to blind the eyes of the beast with a pagri, and at last wearied him out sufficiently to enable the mahout of the Court to shackle his feet and secure him again.

Meanwhile Jang Bahadur's uncle, the Prime Minister, was continually engaged in a never-ending intrigue. At last the Maharani turned against him, and on his refusal to murder—it would have been nothing less—some of her personal enemies, she determined to get rid of him also. The story of the crime has already been told. Attempts have been made to explain away this murder. This book has no intention of criticizing the action of those who have employed methods for their own advancement which find no tolerance in modern Europe. There can, however, be no doubt whatever of the fact, and as little of Jang Bahadur's callousness in looking back upon his deed. Laurence Oliphant¹ tells a curious story. In going round the palace of Thapathali, escorted by Jang Bahadur, Oliphant records that his host called his attention to one of the pictures hanging there. "It was a portrait of a strikingly handsome man whose keen eye and lofty brow seemed almost to entitle him to the position he held between the Duke of Wellington and the Queen. 'See,' said Jang enthusiastically, 'here is the Queen of England, and she has not got a more loyal subject² than I am.' Then, turning to the picture of the man with the keen eyes and high forehead, he remarked, 'That is my poor uncle, Mathabar Singh, whom I shot; it is very like him.'" There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of this story. It is not necessary here to go into the excuses that have been made for Jang Bahadur in this matter. The best that can be said on his behalf is that he was acting under the direct orders of the King and Queen, and that, had he hesitated to carry them out, he would have lost his own life without prolonging that of his uncle. The matter should be viewed in the light of Jang Bahadur's subsequent behaviour. He immediately assumed the position of Prime Minister, which he was destined to occupy for thirty-two years.

His handling of Nepalese affairs during that period will be considered elsewhere, but before turning to it, it may be interesting to draw a sketch of the habits and manner of life that characterized Katmandu in the middle

¹ *Journey to Katmandu*, Appleton and Co. New York, 1852, p. 166.

² This is obviously a mistake. Neither then nor at any later time has any Nepalese asserted his English nationality.

of the nineteenth century. The Nepalese had as yet scarcely come into contact with Western civilization. Jang Bahadur and one or two others may have been guests of some of the lesser officials of the Honourable East India Company during their visits to India. But on all occasions they were really sheltered by Orientals, and Oliphant's description of the life in the palace at this period is not without interest. In the royal palace of Katmandu there is still to be seen the old Darbar room, about eighty feet long and thirty feet wide, decorated by thirty coarsely drawn and crudely coloured panels between the corbels which uphold the roof. One of them, for a reason which I did not discover, had been totally defaced.¹ Fifteen of these panels depict historical personalities; eleven are mere modern French trivialities. Over the entrance is a more recent portrait of Prithwi Narayan with Girvan Judha Vikram on his left.

It was in this room that the two kings—for, although in 1850 the father had technically abdicated, he still continually interfered in the administration of the kingdom, and insisted upon the almost equal recognition of his place and dignity with that of his son—held their darbars. On these occasions Jang Bahadur himself wore the simple sable robes of a first-class Chinese official. Oliphant's description of the scene is worth quoting in full. "There was to be a review of the troops after the darbar, and, as nearly all the nobility of Nepal held rank in the army, the whole assemblage was in uniform, certainly one of the most dazzling that I ever saw collected together. Each man had twice as many feathers as he was entitled to wear, and, while their cocked hats were always completely hid, the bodies of the more diminutive officers almost shared the same fate. The English dragoon and the French hussar might here recognize portions of their uniform, adorned with gold and silver lace to an extent which field-marshal alone have, with us, the right to indulge in, and often mixed up with some Oriental finery—a pair of glittering slippers that consorted but ill with the tightly strapped down, gold-laced trowsers, or a handsome shawl that clumsily supported a bejewelled sabre."

Oliphant makes a note upon the subsequent parade which is now of little interest, so greatly has the efficiency and equipment of the Gurkhas improved since that date. He notes, however, that "the riflemen wore pea-green suits which hung about them loosely, while the regiments of the line wore red coats, with trowsers ample enough to please a Turk. . . . There was no cavalry, the country not being adapted to that arm of the service, but the artillery seemed very fairly handled; there was an immense deal of firing, both of small arms and great guns, which I believe was very good" The review ended with a touch of burlesque. "Suddenly the music changed; the bandsmen struck up a lively polka,

¹ No doubt the reason was not entirely different from that which blotted out the picture of Marino Faliero in the sequence of the Doges of Venice in the Ducal Palace.

and a number of little boys, in a sort of pen-wiper costume, clasping one another like civilized ladies and gentlemen, began to caper about, after which they went through various antics that surpassed even the wildest notions of our highly civilized community: all this while the troops were manœuvring as vehemently as ever, and the boys were dancing as fantastically; and the whole thing was so eminently ridiculous and looked upon very like a farce, that it was difficult to maintain that dignified and steady appearance which was expected from the spectators of a scene so imposing."

This hastily compiled record of Laurence Oliphant's visit to Nepal in 1850 cannot help bearing the traces of a facile and even literary pen. In all his life Laurence Oliphant never descended to mere chapter-making. But this small compilation goes perilously near to it. It has evidently been written with a speed which prevented the author from making himself intimately acquainted with the history and the racial peculiarities of the Nepalese. His estimates of the officials whom he met are shrewd, but he seems to have had no conception of the part that Nepal was fitting herself to play on the great Asiatic chessboard. He found a subject for laughter rather than interest in the first and necessarily misguided attempts of the Nepalese Court to adjust itself to the manners of Europe. It was natural that the external ceremonies and ornaments of life in England should have been copied in the Valley. What Oliphant wholly failed to understand was that a process of a much slower order, that of assimilating the organization, drill, manufactures, mechanical development, and, above all, the higher standards of justice and humanity which prevailed in Europe, was even then taking root in this strange soil. It was easy to laugh at a general officer who wore diamond slippers beneath strapped trousers. It required a man of longer vision than Laurence Oliphant to realize that what the strapped trousers stood for was in the long run going to turn this Himalayan State into a sovereign kingdom—a kingdom from which England, in the day of her greatest trial, was going to receive the unhesitating gift of 200,000 well-armed, well-drilled, and entirely loyal soldiers.

We turn now to the story of Nepal after the murder of Mathabar Singh.

CHAPTER VII

THE KOT MASSACRE

"These things take time. They are not to be done in a day, or in a gust of passion with a kitchen poker, after the coarse fashion of the west . . . in short they were crimes *sui generis*, and can only be done artistically in Asia. And in Asia they seem best done in Nepal."

THE Queen's thirst for blood was by no means satisfied by the removal of her opponent. The next year, 1846, saw a new reign of terror. She raged like a maniac against high and low, and the Maharaja, whose stunted brain could still recognize the monstrous character of a policy which he had no moral courage to oppose, sent for Fateh Jang. This movement was promptly vetoed by the Maharani. It seems that Jang Bahadur also may have had the powers of an acting Prime Minister. This is Dr. Oldfield's statement, but it is probable that Jang Bahadur was merely employed as an *ad interim* and seemingly pliable dictator until the Queen could secure the appointment of the bitterly hated Gagan Singh. The position in Katmandu was now one of hopeless confusion. Gagan Singh was the last person whom the jealous King wished to appoint as Prime Minister. Fateh Jang, his own choice, could, he thought, be induced to find means of destroying Gagan. An extraordinary compromise was then reached. The four candidates, Gagan Singh, Fateh Jang, Jang Bahadur, and Abhiman Singh were all made generals. The last three each commanded three regiments. Gagan Singh commanded seven. Fateh Jang, with limited powers, was appointed Prime Minister. After him, in the scale of precedence, were Gagan Singh, Abhiman, and Jang Bahadur. Padma Jang notes that of these four Gagan Singh, of course, sided with the Queen, Jang Bahadur with the Prince, and the remaining two with the King.

In the distribution of duties which soon followed, it is curious that Jang Bahadur's rivals did not see the danger of allotting to him the most important duty of all, that of improving the discipline of the army. The others were given civil or military responsibility of considerable distinction, but in the case of two of them their field of operations was remote from the capital and did not directly enhance their power in the State. In December 1845 the Panjab invaded India and the first Sikh war broke out. Lahore appealed for help to Katmandu. At the discussion in the palace which

followed, it is curious that Fateh Jang, Abhiman, and a minor member of the Council, Dalbhanjan, were in favour of helping the Sikhs. Gagan Singh and Jang Bahadur were strongly opposed to any action which would involve the hostility of the friendly British power in India. The King and Queen took the middle course of informing Lahore that assistance could only be sent after the Sikhs had been able to capture Delhi.



KANCHHA MAHARANI LAKSHMI DEVI
Youngest Queen of Rajendra Vikram Sah
and the author of the Kot Massacre

There never was a time when Jang Bahadur's tact was more needed. He saw the wisdom of identifying himself with the Queen and Gagan Singh, and was accepted by them as their loyal supporter. The only check upon their complete confidence was the fact that Jang Bahadur was still faithful to the cause of the rightful heir apparent. For cynical bloodshed the story of the following months in Nepal is probably unsurpassed in the chronicles of any similar period in any country. The nearest ties of blood,

gratitude, and common service were lightly broken, and murder, instead of being the expedient of a great emergency, became a normal and often the only possible reprieve from death.

Four months later, on 12th September 1846, the King sent for Surendia, the heir apparent, and his younger brother Upendra, and bluntly told them that he required them to avenge the family honour by putting to death Gagan Singh, the lover of the Queen. The younger prince went across to the house of Fatch Jang, who considered the matter for some time, and discussed it with Abhiman Singh and Dalbhanjan. But the position was complicated by the fact that Upendra was a mere boy, and that the heir apparent had shown himself to be of doubtful sanity. They therefore decided that a hired assassin should be employed. Gagan was accordingly murdered two days later—murdered in cold blood while he was at his prayers. A more picturesque but untrustworthy story—which owes its origin to Abhiman Singh—has it that it was Jang Bahadur himself who, taking aim from the roof of his house, put an end to his unfortunate colleague.

The ungovernable fury of the Queen can be imagined. She visited the house of her dead lover—where, it is interesting to note, she forbade Gagan's three widows to perform *sati*—and then assembled all the chief civil and military officers of the State.

Jang Bahadur, hearing what had happened, thought it wise to attend the rendezvous—which was the Kot or Royal Court of Assembly—accompanied by his three regiments. With him went all his brothers and relatives fully armed. His position in Katmandu gave him the primary advantage of being the first to reach the Kot, and he at once surrounded it with his troops. The Queen seemed at first a little uncertain as to the meaning of this large escort, but Jang managed not only to allay her suspicions but to obtain orders from her forbidding any other general to approach the place at the head of his troops.

The other notabilities of the kingdom obeyed the summons in large and increasing numbers. Even so, all might have gone well had it not been for the insensate vindictiveness of the Queen. Smarting from her loss, she turned the Assembly less into a Parliament than into a court of criminal inquiry. For some reason she regarded Birkishore, the Panre member of the Council, as chiefly responsible for the murder of Gagan Singh. She ordered Abhiman, his fellow conspirator, to arrest him. This was done, and then the Queen, in her anger overriding all forms of justice, attacked him openly and shouted to him to confess his guilt. Birkishore, of course, denied all knowledge of the affair. More infuriated still by this denial, the Queen ordered Abhiman to strike off his head. The difficulty of the position thus created may be imagined. Abhiman, before complying with the Queen's order, naturally looked to the King, also a fellow conspirator,

for confirmation. Rajendra declined to sanction the punishment without trial. While Abhiman was representing the King's attitude to the Queen, the King, with characteristic caution, left the Darbar on the excuse that he wished to discuss the matter with Fateh Jang, the Prime Minister, who was not present. After meeting Fateh Jang, whom he at once sent off to the Kot, the King ran away to the British Residency. The Resident, with extreme prudence, refused him an interview on the ground that Europeans did not receive visitors at so late an hour! The King therefore returned to the Kot, but the streams of blood flowing into the gutters from under the gates persuaded him to take refuge in Fateh Jang's house.

What had happened was this. The Prime Minister had meanwhile arrived at the Kot to find Jang Bahadur in complete charge. There was a momentary discussion between the two. Jang Bahadur said that of two ways one must be chosen. Either the Queen must be immediately placed under arrest, or she must be obeyed and Birkishore put to death. Fateh Jang favoured the former suggestion, but demurred to its being carried out at the moment. By this time the Queen seems to have retired from the meeting, and was watching from a window the surging excitement of the well-filled courtyard, where the discussions—such as they were—were being conducted. From her window she cried out: "Tell me the name of the murderer." Fateh Jang answered that there was some difficulty in dealing with the case and that the investigation would take some time. The Queen then seems to have lost all control of herself. She then and there took a public oath that she would not permit anyone to leave the place till the guilty man had been discovered. This did not help matters: nothing of course was done. A few moments later she descended again into the courtyard, and, now completely beside herself, tried to make her way through the crowd towards Birkishore, determined, if no one else would do it, to cut his head off herself. Fateh Jang and Jang Bahadur then intervened, and the baffled Queen returned to the upper storey window.

Soon after this Jang Bahadur was informed that Fateh Jang and Abhiman Singh had arrived at a policy of action without consulting himself, and the news that about three hundred soldiers under Abhiman were advancing towards the Kot decided him to make full use of his existing opportunity. He at once visited the Queen and persuaded her that her party was about to be overpowered. She ordered the instant arrest of Abhiman, who was leaving the Kot to meet his troops. He was stopped at the door by the sentinel, who gave as his justification that the Queen Regent had ordered no one to pass the gates: and he added that Jang Bahadur had been the channel through which the order had reached him. Abhiman tried to push his way through, but the officer of the guard interfered in support of the sentry. The general then seems to have lost his temper to an extent only equalled by the Queen, who could no longer

control herself on hearing of this refusal of Abhiman to obey her commands. Then the massacre began.

An order was given to the soldier on the gate, who took a musket from his neighbour and bayoneted Abhiman in the breast. He fell, mortally wounded, and in the agony of death cried aloud that the real murderer of Gagan Singh was Jang Bahadur. After this there was no end but one. The eldest son of Fateh Jang, Kharag Vikram, cried out to his kinsmen: "Let us sell our lives as dearly as possible. General Abhiman's last words are quite true. This is all Jang Bahadur's treachery." Krishna Bahadur, a younger brother of Jang, told him to hold his tongue. Kharag immediately attacked Krishna, who had not drawn his sword, and in parrying the blow lost the thumb of his right hand. Bam Bahadur, another brother, at once came to Krishna's rescue, but could not get his sword unsheathed in time, and received an inconsiderable wound on the head. Kharag Vikram was preparing for another and probably final blow when a third brother, Dhir Sham Sher, a famous swordsman, practically cut him in two with one stroke.

For the moment there was an awful silence. Fateh Jang, who was informed of the tragedy by Jang Bahadur, refused to pour oil on the troubled waters by admitting that the original fault had been Kharag's. Instead he, Dalbhanjan, and another minister ran up a staircase leading to the Queen's upper apartments. Jang Bahadur attempted to stop him, asserting his innocence of Gagan's murder. But Fateh Jang continued his flight up the steps, and all three were then shot dead by a soldier on the order of one of Jang Bahadur's staff.

Blood was now flowing at the other end of the long quadrangle. There Rana Udip Singh—who ultimately succeeded Jang Bahadur as Prime Minister—was quarrelling with one of the Chautarias. It is remarkable, and it is worth mentioning in order to show that Jang Bahadur's brothers were entirely taken by surprise in this crisis, that Rana Udip also found great difficulty in drawing his sword, which was, as usual on merely ceremonial occasions, hampered by an embroidered gold scarf. But Bam Bahadur and Krishna Bahadur came to his rescue, and cut down his opponent. By this time there was pandemonium within the whitened walls of the Kot. A rush was made against Jang Bahadur himself, and a stirring of the old Kshatriya blood in the leading Nepalese families turned the disaster into a massacre. Fateh Jang's brother cried out that as Rajputs no surrender was possible. The fight became a *mêlée*, and every man used whatever weapons he had or could wrest from his neighbour. Suddenly, apparently without orders, a company of Jang Bahadur's followers outside the Kot forced their way into the quadrangle. The Chautarias then gave up all hope of victory and took to flight, some back into the house, some by scaling the walls of the Kot. The slaughter in the courtyard of the Kot thereupon

became general, and the blood, which had so alarmed the King, began to run out under the gates into the gutters of the public street.

Of the details of this butchery and of the exact loss of life no full record exists. Of the highest officials and notables of Nepal the names of fifty-five have been recorded as killed. But no pretence is made that this number represents even a tenth of the actual losses. Many times as many of lesser note were killed during this indiscriminate and brutal massacre. Three things are worth recording. The first is that Jang Bahadur saved the life of one of the younger brothers of Fateh Jang, and smuggled him



KOT QUADRANGLE, KATMANDU

The Scene of the Massacre

out from the scene of death through a postern door. The second is that, while the slaughter was still going on, the Queen Regent conferred upon Jang Bahadur the office of Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief. The third is that, when the bloodshed was over, the Maharani commanded Jang to bring Surenda Vikram, the heir apparent, into the courtyard in order that he might be terrified and take the first chance of escape to his father, of whose intended flight to Benares the Queen had already had information. But Jang Bahadur, with an instinct which was perhaps his dominating quality, saw the danger of allowing the Queen to have a free hand at this crisis, and when Surenda arrived, Jang merely said that the

heir apparent had been sent for that he might see with his own eyes that his enemies were dead, and that there was now no further danger for himself. So ended the famous slaughter of the Kot.

So far as the responsibility for this massacre is concerned, it is as well to record Jang Bahadur's own statement to the Resident, given two days later. It was to the effect that, on the Council being assembled to investigate into the death of Gagan Singh, the Queen publicly accused all the Ministers by name as accomplices in the murder, and she called out to Gagan Singh's regiment to seize them, and she would have put them all to death *en masse*. Great confusion followed; the Ministers mutually re-criminated each other, swords were drawn, and the first blood was shed by Fateh Jang's son, who attacked and wounded Bam Bahadur. Jang Bahadur added that Fateh Jang himself and the other Ministers were killed, not at the outbreak, but during the progress of the slaughter. He declared that, had he not restrained the Queen, she would have put the heir apparent and his brother to death on the spot, and would have imprisoned the Raja. He always maintained that the massacre originated entirely in the violent and outrageous conduct of the Queen who, holding supreme power at the time, ought to be held responsible for it.¹

Jang Bahadur's first action was to place in safety the two princes, Surendra, for whom he had immediate use, and his brother Upendra. Knowing the Queen's intentions toward them, two companies of soldiers were told off to protect their apartments. This was no unwise precaution, as the Queen, in the course of a quarrel with the unhappy King, threatened that, if he refused to place her son Ranendra on the throne, the massacre of the Kot would be as nothing to the widespread slaughter that would then become inevitable.

As soon as it was daylight the Queen was conducted by Jang Bahadur to the Hanuman-Dhoka palace, where he presented himself as Prime Minister to the King—who had naturally abandoned Fateh Jang's roof as soon as he found that his intended host was among those who had been slaughtered. Rajendra at once demanded by whose orders this wholesale massacre had taken place. Jang Bahadur replied: "Everything has been done by the orders of the Queen, to whom Your Majesty yourself made over the sovereign power."

This was no place for a weak man, so Rajendra, after a stormy interview with the Queen, left Katmandu and began his preparations in Patan for the usual "pilgrimage" to Benares. Jang Bahadur acted with strength and speed. He had himself proclaimed Prime Minister and Commander-in-

¹ Oldfield, vol. i, p. 363. Upon reflection Jang Bahadur seems to have recalled in better sequence the incidents of this massacre, and I am inclined to think that the temperately written account given by his son, Padma Jang, represents more accurately the course of events.

Chief at a general parade of all the troops quartered in the Nepal Valley. He confiscated the property of all the chiefs and officers who had been killed or had fled. He expelled their families from the country and declared that their return, or any attempt to oppose these decrees would, after a certain date, be regarded as a capital offence. At the Pajni he swept out of office every man of whose loyalty he was not confident. He rewarded all those who had helped to make the massacre a success; and, not without reason, he included his own brothers among those thus favoured. Order reigned in Katmandu.

So far the Queen remained nominally Regent. She took advantage of her power to murder in cold blood a faithful servant, Bhowani Singh, who was actually seated on an elephant beside the retreating King. This incident, perhaps, persuaded Rajendra to return at night from Patan to Katmandu. Public feeling, naturally enough, was excited and terrified, and the army of the Valley was mobilized in Katmandu for eight days. There could not be any doubt as to the imminent struggle between the Queen and Jang Bahadur: there was as little uncertainty as to its result.

Day after day the Regent demanded the death of the two princes and the enthronement of her son. Day after day Jang Bahadur kept up an attitude of courteous sympathy, but always had ready reasons of State for a delay. He needed time more than anything. His plans were maturing, and at last he threw down the gauntlet. The Queen, in the Hanuman-Dhoka Palace, received one morning the following letter:

"I have received Your Majesty's letter enjoining upon me the duty of perpetrating what I consider to be a horrible crime. I feel obliged to protest humbly that such an act would be (1) exceedingly unjust, inasmuch as the setting up of a younger son in supersession of the eldest is in contravention of all practice, and is directly in opposition to all laws, human and divine; and (2) it [the murder of the Princes] would be the commission of a most heinous crime in defiance of conscience and religion; and on these grounds I regret I am unable to obey you. Over and above my duty to you as Regent, I owe another duty to the State which, in case of conflict, must override any personal considerations.

"My duty to the State bids me to submit that, should Your Majesty ever again repeat this order, you shall be prosecuted for attempt at murder by the law of the land."

One can imagine the state of mind of the Queen on receipt of this epistle, and it must be held to be some excuse for her anger that Jang Bahadur had risen to power through his apparent acquiescence in Her Majesty's intrigues. At the same time her opponent was not the man he had been ten days before. No one could have seen the Jang Bahadur of the Kot at close range, as had the Queen, without a twinge of sheer terror at the idea of encountering his enmity. The Maharani changed her policy.

She made no further ado about the matter of Ranendra, and at once set to work to provide for the assassination of Jang Bahadur. By the most binding oaths known to the Hindu religion, one Bir Dhuj Bashniat swore to be the Queen's man in this matter. In return the Regent promised to make him hereditary Premier, with the curious privilege to be enjoyed by himself and his descendants that they should be exempt from all punishment, even if they committed murder, provided the number of murders did not exceed seven, and did not extend to any member of the royal family.

The Queen Regent seems to have read the play of *Macbeth*, for her first suggestion was that Jang and his brothers should be induced to sleep in the apartments of the two princes. The conspirators were to break in and murder the latter—and, if present, their father also—and then were to accuse Jang and his brothers of the crime. But this scheme was abandoned, and another arrangement made, by which Jang Bahadur was to be decoyed into the Bandar Khel Palace, in another part of the Hanuman-Dhoka compound whither the Queen had retired. Here chosen assassins were to be ready to despatch him.

But Jang Bahadur had not played this game so long without being a match for a blood-besotted woman. His spies were everywhere, and he received full and timely warning of this attempt upon his life. He allowed the plot to ripen until the conspirators, who belonged to the clan of Bashniats, were irrevocably committed, and then put the whole of them to death. The thing happened in this wise. Unfortunately for the Bashniats, a singularly inept messenger was chosen for the purpose of leading Jang Bahadur into the trap. A private tutor in the palace, Bijai Raj, was offered the post of Raj Guru, or High Priest, if he could succeed in bringing Jang Bahadur into the palace. Bijai Raj went to the Lagantol, which was the residence of Jang Bahadur before he built his palace at Thapathali. He was at once admitted, and Jang Bahadur asked him coldly what his motive was. "What news is it that you bring from the Court?" Bijai Raj, for some reason, jumped to the conclusion that the whole plot had been betrayed, and at once took refuge in a confession. Jang Bahadur acted with characteristic rapidity. He summoned six companies from his trusted regiments, and within twenty minutes the whole force was moving with the utmost haste upon Bandar Khel.

Now Bir Dhuj was beginning to get nervous at the delay. He expected his intended victim to appear at once in person, and as no Jang arrived, he committed the inconceivable folly of riding out towards Lagantol to precipitate matters. Half-way across he ran straight into Jang Bahadur's party, and realized at once that his scheme had been betrayed. As a forlorn hope he rode straight to the central group, and said that he wished to speak to the Prime Minister. Krishna Bahadur, carefully depriving him of his

weapons, brought him to Jang, to whom he could think of nothing better to say than, "The Queen wishes His Excellency to meet her in the Kot directly." But Jang had listened carefully to the story told by Bijai Raj, and in reply came the merciless answer: "How can that be? She has appointed you as Prime Minister. What has she more to do with me?" He gave a sign, and the wretched Bir Dhuj was cut to pieces on the spot. The detachment moved on at once to the palace, where all those who surrendered their arms were put in chains, and those who resisted—to the number of twenty-three—were killed.

It must have been with mixed feelings that the Queen, too sure of herself



HANUMAN-DHOKA, KATHMANDU

and of her domination over her husband and the country, watched Jang Bahadur, whom she believed as good as dead, ride up to the royal palace and demand an immediate audience of the King. It was a tense moment. Jang Bahadur would speak with neither small nor great, but only with the King of Nepal. The Queen's messengers were turned aside, and the King himself practically forced to meet this cold-eyed and unscrupulous young conqueror face to face. But the spirit of the Queen was unbroken. She would not allow the King to meet Jang Bahadur alone. Whatever her feelings—and by this time the news of the death of all her conspirators must have reached her—the indomitable woman still faced the terrible interview.

But Jang Bahadur uttered no word to her. She must have felt, as he spoke to the King and his eldest son, that her authority was at an end for ever. He coldly demanded her immediate exile, and after having imprisoned the Queen in her own apartments, Jang called together the State Council. Sentence was passed upon the Queen with the assent of both the King and the heir apparent. The Regency was formally taken from her, and a recital of her crimes followed. "You have caused the death of hundreds and brought ruin and misery upon your subjects, whose misfortunes would not end as long as you remain in the country. . . . For the offences aforesaid you are commanded to quit the country and make immediate preparations for your removal to Benares."

But, defeated as she was, the Queen was determined not to go alone. She insisted on taking with her her two sons, Ranendra and Birendra, in spite of Jang Bahadur's misgivings. Nor was she satisfied thus. She demanded also that the King himself should accompany her to Benares. The domestic arguments that she used to him are not recorded but may be imagined. The obedient Rajendra suddenly issued a proclamation asserting that he was weighed down by the load of past sins which sat heavy on his weary shoulders, and that he too purposed to make a pilgrimage to Benares where, by bathing in the Ganges and by performing other penances, he hoped to expiate his offences. We shall see how he kept his resolution. On the 23rd November 1846 the Queen and her family departed for Benares, escorted to the frontier by six regiments. Surendra was appointed Regent during the absence of his father.

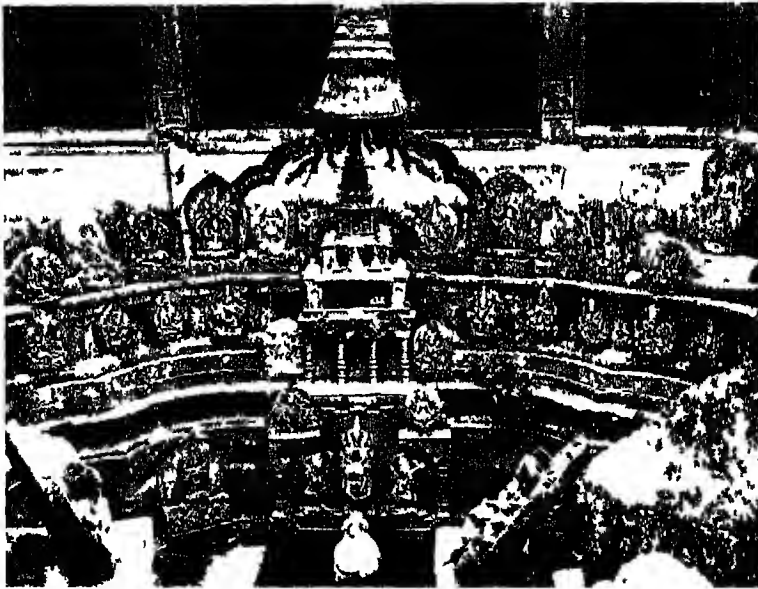
At once Jang Bahadur assumed the full administration of Nepal. Surendra, who, we remember, had taken a fiendish delight in other days in compassing the death or mutilation of Jang Bahadur, was now compelled to act merely as his servant.¹ The Rana family filled all the more important offices of State, including the four main military commands.

It was not, of course, to be supposed that, once secure from the vengeance of Jang, the Queen would abandon the consistent policy which had directed her actions for so many years. The ex-royal Court at Benares became a hot-bed of intrigue and conspiracy. To the constant assurances of popular support and invitations to return that reached the royal couple from Nepal, the Maharani turned a somewhat doubting ear. She had reason to believe that much that was told her of the latent opposition to Jang Bahadur was

¹ In July 1851 Jang Bahadur, who was then firmly in the saddle, delivered a curious lecture to the man who in earlier days had taken advantage of his princely position to behave with such brutality towards him. He contrasted his own conduct as Prime Minister with that of his uncle, Mathabar Singh. The latter, he said, had permitted Surendra, then heir apparent, to indulge in such barbarities as the mutilation of innocent persons, and the throwing of live slave girls down wells. At this moment there must have been a thrill, for none of the Prime Minister's audience can, of course, have forgotten the story of Jang Bahadur's own escape from the same fate.

true enough, but she had also come to realize the strength and determination of the young master of Nepal. For it was nothing less than mastery. From this moment may be dated the establishment of the practically complete autocracy of the Prime Ministers of Nepal.

Rajendra also had better reason to know Jang Bahadur's character than those who urged him to return. For three months he hesitated. His adherents in Benares had, of course, drawn heavily upon his not inconsiderable coffers for their own advantage, and it is doubtful whether he could have secured as mercenaries any force that would not have been



SUNDARICHOK DHARA, HANUMAN-DHOKA

blown away like chaff before the first onslaught of Jang's regiments. But the new Prime Minister, who had been kept carefully informed of every movement in Benares, now saw the advantage of regaining possession of the person of the King. He therefore sent a letter, inviting him to return. Rajendra answered that he would do so if the Queen were allowed to return with him. This Jang Bahadur refused, but he replied that he would give permission for the Queen's two sons to come back with the King. He ended his letter with a plain threat: "If you fail to return within a reasonable time, the Prince Regent, Surendra Vikram, will be set upon the throne in your place."

In reply the Queen—for it was she, of course, who was at the head of all the plottings in Benares—hired a couple of assassins. But these rascals

were foolishly employed also on business for which they were less qualified than that of cutting throats. They were told to feel their way and discover the trend of popular feeling in Katmandu, and to sow the seed of rebellion there before committing the crime. As a crowning act of folly, they were provided with a royal order from King Rajendra stating that the bearers had been expressly commanded to kill Jang Bahadur, and that anybody who obstructed them would be flayed alive. Of course the inevitable happened. The two ruffians were arrested with the loaded pistols and the King's written order upon them. Equally, of course, after their capture they made a clean breast of the whole affair.

With a sense of the dramatic which never failed him, Jang Bahadur summoned all the troops of Katmandu to the parade ground. There he formed them in a hollow square round the tree¹ which has frequently served at military crises, and spoke in his usual direct manner. He held out the order that had been discovered on the cut-throats, and told the troops that they were commanded directly by the King to kill Jang Bahadur, and that to meet that sentence Jang Bahadur stood before them. A scene of the wildest enthusiasm and loyalty to Jang followed; the troops demanded the deposition of the King; and then and there the Prime Minister promulgated the dismissal of Rajendra from the throne and the succession of Surendra, the heir apparent. Salutes were fired, and all other ceremonies performed, such as were customary at the accession of a new sovereign. On the next day a letter was sent to the wretched King at Benares announcing his deposition for crimes, the list of which, it is curious to note, is headed by the charge of having "caused the death of the able Minister, Bhim Sen Thapa." It is remarkable that even this amazingly frank document ends with yet another invitation to the ex-King to return to Nepal. Jang Bahadur felt, and felt with reason, that the absence of the King in Benares would make for continual intrigue, which would not be so likely to flourish if the ex-royal family were divided and the Queen compelled to act without the authority and without the treasure chest of her imbecile husband.

At this point the Maharani adopted a characteristic policy, and soon an idiotic attempt to invade the country on the part of the ex-King was reported to Jang Bahadur. The latter, who had been unable to persuade Rajendra to return to Nepal as a guest, determined that come back he should—and if not as a guest, then as a prisoner. The disorganized force of the King was still delayed in the Tarai at Alau. Sanak Singh, with four regiments, immediately attacked the place, and the King himself was captured while preparing to fly on an elephant. Rajendra was put in a closed palanquin and conducted as a prisoner over the Sisagarhi and Chandragiri passes to Thankot, the first village in the Valley of Katmandu.

¹ It is a conspicuous object on the plain, and is surrounded by a double circle of whitened brick.

Here his position was changed to that of a guest of high honour. He received a salute of guns, and after being treated with every consideration in Katmandu itself, was sent on to Bhatgaon where he was interned in the old palace. Once again the foolish man began his fatuous intrigues. He was therefore brought back into the palace in Katmandu, where he was night and day attended by officers whom Jang Bahadur could trust. Within the narrow limits of the palace he was treated in a way that befitted his royal birth.

Jang Bahadur adopted the subtle policy of keeping Rajendra in a kind of nominal internment but allowing him at the same time to appear in public with a state scarcely less than that of the actual King, his son. The result of this may easily be imagined. Continual jealousies and bickerings broke up the last hope that the royalists may have entertained, and Jang Bahadur found it easier to manage the troubled State when there was neither unity at home nor a martyr at Benares for the Maharani to work with.

During the next two years Jang Bahadur, now at last free from outside aggression from Benares and, with one or two exceptions,¹ undistracted by the need of dealing with malice domestic, consolidated his position to the total exclusion of any other authority in Nepal. The following description by Dr. Wright sums up in a few words the extent of his autocracy. "From this time Jang Bahadur has been the undisputed ruler of the country. The old King is a prisoner in the palace. The present King is kept under the strictest surveillance and not allowed to exercise any power whatever. The heir apparent is also kept in a state of obscurity, being never permitted to take a part in any public business, or even to appear at the Darbars, to which the British Resident is invited. In fact, one may live for years in Nepal without either seeing or hearing of the King."²

✓ In May 1848 Jang Bahadur, still convinced of the wisdom of friendship with the Indian Government, offered six regiments of Nepalese troops under his own personal command should a renewal of the war between the English and the Sikhs break out. The Indian Government declined the

¹ I have not thought it worth while to give a detailed account of certain attempts against the life of Jang Bahadur that took place at this time. They were attributed, probably with truth, to a man named the Guru Prasad. It is not without interest to note that after 1849 the Guru begged not only for pardon but for an annuity. Jang Bahadur not only pardoned him, but made him a colonel in the army and restored to him his confiscated property.

² In Tibet and Bhutan, and in China also, it has been the King's Marshal, not the King himself, who has been responsible for the administration of the land. The King—as Napoleon used to urge—has been placed on a pinnacle of such excessive honour that he resembles rather a deity than a man, and, possibly for the reason that Chandra Sham Sher gave me, the isolation of the King himself is as pronounced and effective as the isolation of the country over which he reigns.

offer but said that, should need arise in the future, they would then gladly accept it. A good deal of unnecessary controversy has arisen about this proposal and its unqualified refusal. Jang Bahadur had already shown his good sense in espousing the cause of Britain during the first Sikh war, nor does it seem in any way unlike him that he should again have made this suggestion—especially in view of the visit to England which he was then contemplating. ✓

Jang Bahadur seemed little inclined to take Calcutta's refusal lying down. Accompanied by the King, he started from Katmandu on 22nd December 1848 for a shooting expedition in the Tarai. It is one of the most incomprehensible of Jang's actions that, on this occasion, he was accompanied by 32,000 soldiers, 52 guns, 300 cavalry, 250 horse artillery, 2,000 camp followers, and 700 ration officers. This movement on his part was unwise. It immediately gave rise to the suspicion that by making such a display of force on the frontier of India he intended to compel the Indian Government to detach from their Panjab Expeditionary Force a considerable number of troops to watch their northern border. Jang Bahadur's son, General Padma—who, of course, could only speak of these matters from the knowledge of others¹—maintains that, apart from a wish to add to the splendour of the progress, Jang Bahadur was afraid to leave any large force behind in Katmandu. He also states that he had papers in his possession showing that Jang Bahadur intended to carry out manoeuvres in the Tarai during the only time of the year when it was possible to do so. It was perhaps an unfortunate inspiration, and was looked at somewhat askance by the Indian Government. If there was one matter upon which the Prime Minister had received the fullest assurance, it was the loyalty of the great majority of the army, and thirteen months later he showed that he had no such suspicions as were then attributed to him, by leaving the country and making an extended journey to England.

In the spring of 1849 the Maharani, Chanda Kunwar, the wife of Ranjit Singh, who had been interned since the end of the second Sikh war in the fort of Chunar, made her escape in disguise to Nepal. Her arrival in April caused some embarrassment, but Jang Bahadur accorded to her the political asylum she demanded. He took care, however, that her residence, which remains to this day close to the house subsequently given to Nana Sahib's wife or widow, was not made the centre of political intrigue. This house, which is now allowed to fall into decay, was, after her death, used for administrative purposes.

✓ In 1850 the British Government consented to this visit to England by Jang Bahadur. He appeared in Europe nominally as the ambassador of his own prisoner, Surendra Vikram. Of course the Indian Government was perfectly well aware of the conditions that prevailed in Katmandu.

¹ He was not born till December 1857.

They knew that they were dealing not with an ambassador but with a despot, and they may have wondered at the motive which induced Jang Bahadur not merely to create a new political precedent, but also to set at defiance the religious scruples and the religious authorities of his own country, by making a journey across the Black Water. Such an enterprise must inevitably have been followed—as it was—by stern charges of having lost caste. India must have been surprised also at the willingness of Jang Bahadur so soon to leave the troubled country which he had even yet scarcely reduced to submission. But, with a foresight that is not given to all Governments of India, the Governor-General in Council recommended that he should be allowed to make this pilgrimage. And we shall perhaps never know how much the British Empire owes to a decision that must have trembled long in the balance of the Council in Calcutta. ✓

CHAPTER VIII

JANG BAHADUR'S VISIT TO ENGLAND

"Who could have supposed it possible to combine a court delighting in blood and revolution, with a people dwelling in peace and happiness."—SIR HENRY LAWRENCE.

JANG BAHADUR had now made his position in Nepal secure enough to allow him to make the great journey of his life, a journey which he had from his youth looked forward to as the best possible means of raising his own country in the scale of civilized States. He wished to see England with his own eyes. He wanted to know wherein the supremacy of the English lay. So far as he had met them in India, they scarcely perhaps seemed to justify the enormous power they held, not only in Asia but throughout the world. He remembered his great-uncle Bhim Sen's dictum: "The English are a race that crushes thrones like potsherds." He wanted to see more of Great Britain than his purely official relations with Englishmen in India permitted him to do. More than that, he was anxious to get some first-hand knowledge of the manufacturing power and engineering resources of this island in the North Sea about which so many strange tales had come to his ears. No doubt he also had in his mind the intention of watching closely the administration of justice, the land tenures, and the general social and economic standards there. As we shall see, it was perhaps the fact that he encountered these products of a thousand-year-long Western civilization that produced at his hands the most immediate results for Nepal.

In the autumn of 1849 the Nepal Government had approached the Governor-General of India on the matter, and received not only his full assent but the promise that all necessary arrangements should be made to enable Jang Bahadur, as Ambassador of Nepal, and his party to reach London in safety.

General Bam Bahadur was appointed to act as Prime Minister during the absence of his brother; and of Jang's other brothers, Badri Narsingh was to act as Commander-in-Chief, Krishna Bahadur to hold charge of the Civil Department, and Rana Uday Singh to take up the government of the Western and Eastern provinces. On the 15th January 1850 the Prime Minister left Katmandu for Europe. He took with him Colonel Jagat Sham Sher Rana and Colonel Dhir Sham Sher Rana, his brothers, and

twelve other members of his staff. Four cooks and twenty-two domestic servants made up his suite. ✓

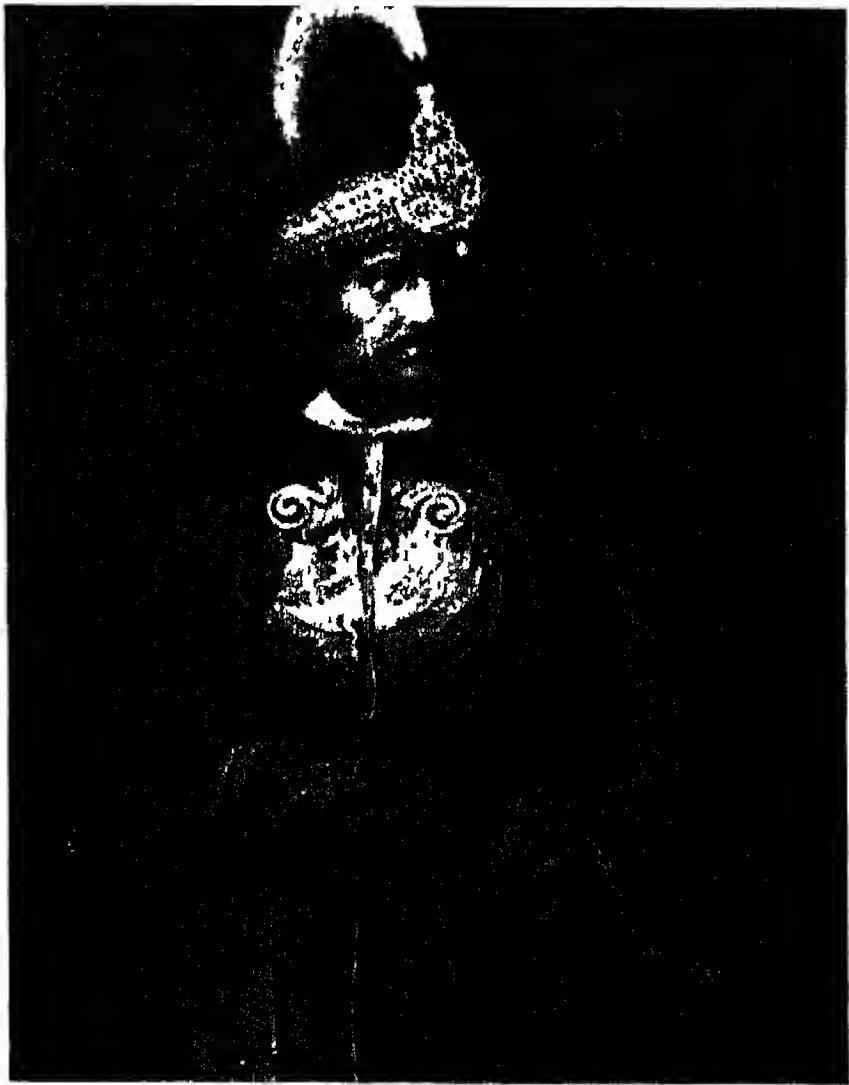
It is impossible to record in as much detail as could be wished the full story of this journey to England. Fifty-five years later the journey was repeated by the present Prime Minister, and as in many cases the routine of ceremony, the visits, the parades, the salutes, the addresses, the formal receptions, and the other necessary incidents of such an official visit were the same in the one case as the other, and may be more interestingly described in connection with Chandra Sham Sher, I shall confine myself for the most part to those incidents which were peculiar to Jang Bahadur's visit.

At once the most marked characteristic of Jang Bahadur's expedition leaps to the eye. This was actually the first occasion on which any chief of Indian blood had dared the letter of the old law and crossed the "Black Water" to see foreign countries. His example has been followed so frequently by Indian princes in general that it is difficult perhaps to realize the interest which the presence of this Oriental potentate, whose life had already been marked by adventures and hairbreadth escapes such as had been the lot of no one since the Thousand and One Nights, created in England; and his magnificence of robe and jewel more than fulfilled the wildest hopes of the half-mesmerized Englishmen who stood open-mouthed to gaze upon his splendours whenever and wherever he might appear.

During the journey through India an incident perhaps worth noting is not the least of the many extraordinary feats of courage and horsemanship that stand to Jang Bahadur's credit. At Bankipur there is a famous building called the Gola, which was erected as a gigantic granary in 1786. It is about ninety feet high, and the walls are twelve feet in thickness, out of which there is a spiral path two feet six inches wide which ascends to the top of the granary. To the amazement of his escort—which now included several British officers—Jang Bahadur and his brother Dhir rode up to the top of this scanty and crumbling foothold.

After a brilliant reception at Calcutta the Ambassador and Dhir spent their time in examining with care the foundries and arsenals of the capital. Captain Orfeur Cavanagh was appointed to his staff, and found that scarcely any new discovery of a scientific or practical nature was too small to engage His Excellency's close attention. As some delay in providing the steamer still continued, Jang Bahadur took the opportunity of making a pilgrimage to the temple of Jagannath at Puri. On the 7th April he and his suite left India in the P. and O. steamer "Haddington."

He is described in a London newspaper by their Calcutta correspondent as being "thirty-two years of age; rather slight in figure but neatly formed; firm and agile, forming a strong contrast with his two stout or rather fat brothers who accompany him. His features are of the Tartar cast. He



MAHARAJA JANG BAHADUR.

appears to have great physical courage." He seems to have caused some panic to his British staff by a habit of jumping overboard into the waters of the Sandarbans regardless of alligators in the river and tigers ashore, whenever his interest was excited by the game of these flooded lowlands.

A week was spent in Madras. After a brief stay at Galle, in Ceylon, the "Haddington" reached Aden in eight days, and proceeded up the Red Sea to Suez. Here Jang Bahadur made the overland journey to Cairo in as much comfort as was possible. He then reached Alexandria by water, and on the following day sailed on the P. and O. steamer "Ripon."

On the 25th May the Nepalese Ambassador arrived at Southampton, where a characteristic act of stupidity on the part of the Customs officials caused a momentary trouble. This having been put right, after a short delay the party were housed in No. 1 Richmond Terrace, London, and the real business and interest of the expedition began.

The first few days in the capital were given up to sight-seeing, but the invincible curiosity of London soon began to show itself. On the 29th he went down to Epsom to attend the races—which probably pleased him more than anything else he saw in England—and on the following day he was received at the East India House. Jang Bahadur left early and attended the Opera later on. On the 1st June he was introduced in the evening by Lady Palmerston to the Duke of Wellington. This was perhaps the meeting which more deeply interested Jang Bahadur than any other during his stay in England. Repeatedly in after life he would urge as a reason for the fullest recognition of his position the fact that he had been received by the great Duke of Wellington as an equal.

Next day Lord Gough visited the Ambassador, and it is worth mentioning perhaps that a pleasant little exchange of courtesies took place. Lord Gough asked what the meaning of the name Jang Bahadur was, and on being told that it meant "hero in war," naturally remarked that the name suited its owner well. The Ambassador at once said that the name he bore signified warlike qualities by a mere trick of language, but that the name of Lord Gough was associated with nothing less than the conquest of the Panjab. Many of these happy retorts have been recorded of Jang Bahadur, and mention has already been made of several. But it is not necessary to labour the fact that the Prime Minister of Nepal had more than an ordinary share of that grace of expression which counts so much in human relations.

The stay in London of the Ambassador was strangely diversified. The truth probably is that the British authorities, totally ignorant of the desires and tastes of an Oriental prince and sorely anxious not to transgress the unknown rules of caste, were only too glad to let His Excellency spend his time in his own way. Consequently we have wrestling matches—in which Dhir Sham Sher seems to have won a remarkable victory over an English champion—reviews, Highland dinners, hospitals, dairy farms, the Zoological

Gardens, London Bridge, the Bank of England, and casual social entertainments, which were perhaps regarded by Jang Bahadur in a somewhat different light from that in which they were viewed by the distinguished ladies whose receptions he attended.

On the 15th June he was present at a banquet given by the Directors of the Honourable East India Company.

Queen Victoria, who had been unable to receive the Ambassador at an earlier date, arranged for his reception on the 19th of the month. The interview was cordial, and the compliments that were suitable on such an occasion were exchanged. Jang Bahadur afterwards presented the gifts that he had brought from his country.¹ On the following day the Queen held a Drawing-Room, and in the course of a conversation between Her Majesty and the Ambassador, she invited him to be present at a christening of the young prince, who still is, in 1928, one of the warmest friends and admirers of the present Prime Minister of Nepal—the Duke of Connaught. On the 22nd the christening ceremony took place, and the Queen seems to have taken a most genuine delight in her Oriental visitor. She made him sit by her side among her children. She talked to him about the climate and scenery of his country, and then said that her children were lost in admiration of his robes and jewels.

His two brothers attended a debate in the House of Commons on the following day, and were struck with the quietness with which political opposition was conducted in this country. Next morning Jang Bahadur had an interview with the Prince Consort. It is a pity that no verbatim report exists of this meeting, for the Ambassador seems to have given his host a full picture of the complications of public life in Nepal and the continual dangers which attended any man in office. It is remarkable that he should have been in London when Queen Victoria was assaulted by a lunatic. There can hardly have been an intention of killing the Queen, as only a walking-stick was used by Pate. But Jang Bahadur, of course, as soon as he heard of this incident, immediately repaired to the palace to demand that the offender should be hanged at once.

Of the remainder of Jang Bahadur's stay in England it may be said that he continued his diligent inspection of all military processes and arsenals. He bought pedigree sheep and cattle, and agricultural engines, and visited such ordinary London sights as St. Paul's Cathedral and the Tower. Unceasing entertainments were offered him, but the real interest of his visit was clearly his inspection of all military and naval concerns and every process of industry. He even went down a mine in order to satisfy himself as to the manner in which coal was hewn. He visited Birmingham and Edinburgh.

On the 21st August he bade farewell to England, and stayed for a short

¹ The Queen received him at St. James's Palace.

while in Paris. Here he was received by Prince Louis Napoleon, President of the Republic, afterwards Napoleon III. Social entertainment was difficult in the off season, much probably to Jang Bahadur's relief. In answer to the President's offer to provide any ceremony that might be to the liking of Jang Bahadur, the latter at once demanded a review of 100,000 troops. This was rather a difficult request to fulfil, as no such body of troops had been mustered in France for some years. However, a great parade was arranged for the 24th September.

Meanwhile the Prime Minister paid visits of ceremony to the tomb of Napoleon the Great, and to the other best known sights of Paris and the surrounding country, including Compiègne, Fontainebleau, Versailles, and Saint Cloud. After the great review of the 24th at Sartary, and a final visit of farewell that accompanied it, Jang Bahadur returned to Paris. Here he amused himself by the Harun-er-Rashid expeditions to which he was so addicted in his own capital. On one occasion, while he was practising with a pistol at a shooting gallery—and probably surprising the Parisian attendants—a French girl with a laugh said she could shoot just as well. Jang Bahadur at once handed her his pistol and, probably rather overcome by this immediate acceptance of her challenge, the girl let it off by accident as soon as she had received it. Unfortunately she hit Dhir Sham Sher. It was not a serious wound, and it was one which Jang Bahadur himself was able to deal with. He extracted the bullet, and Dhir Sham Sher was not long laid up by the misadventure.

Jang Bahadur then left for Marseilles, which he reached on the 4th October, where H.M.S. "Growler" was waiting for his party. They arrived at Alexandria on the 15th, and three days later Abbas Pasha placed a palace at their disposal in Cairo. The overland journey was once more undertaken, and a ship received them at Suva. Bombay was reached on the 6th November, where Jang Bahadur was received with full ceremony. He made a visit to the shrines at Dwarka, resumed his sea voyage, and arrived at Colombo on the 29th. After a pleasant stay of four days, Jang Bahadur embarked for Rameshwaram, the third holiest site in all India. This is built upon an island between India and Ceylon, and offers perhaps a more interesting spectacle than that of any other of the great Southern temples. But although he had thus technically reached India, the land journey was too long and difficult for him to attempt, and he returned to Colombo and re-embarked for Calcutta. The long voyage was ended on the 19th December, and on Christmas Day, after the exchange of civilities with the Governor-General, Jang Bahadur left for home.

On the 4th January he reached Benares, where there was, of course, an interview of more than usual interest between himself and the Nepalese royalties. Prince Ranendra and his brother, the sons of the ex-Queen, called on His Excellency and complained that they were not receiving the

share of the money which King Rajendra, on his arrival at Benares in 1846, had deposited with the British authorities. Jang Bahadur then suggested to the Queen and the princes that the money should be divided into three equal parts, and this arrangement was accepted.

Even before he reached his own country Jang Bahadur was informed that his old enemy, the Guru Prasad, whom he had pardoned, to whom he had restored his estates, and on whom he had conferred an honourable rank in the army, was again attempting his assassination. Due precautions were taken, and on the 29th January 1851 Jang Bahadur re-entered Nepalese territory. Two regiments under General Krishna there joined



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him. After a few days of sport the Prime Minister returned to his new palace at Thapathali on the 6th February, having been away from his kingdom for a little over a year.

The following description of his return may be quoted from his son's *Life*. "Jang Bahadur was received with great outbursts of public joy. The route taken by him was lined with troops on both sides; the principal civil and military officers of the kingdom went out to meet him on the banks of the Bagmati river; immense crowds thronged the streets and collected on every possible standing ground, as if the whole country had come out to welcome him; people from the remotest provinces had gathered to see him as though he were the inhabitant of another planet. All the towns and cities were astir to accord him a hearty welcome and fought with one

another as to which should do the greatest honour to him and to itself. The road from the Kalimati bridge to the palace was decorated with flags and bunting, and adorned at intervals with wreaths of triumph emblazoned with suitable mottoes of welcome. A gorgeous State pavilion stood ready to receive him at the nearer entrance of the bridge, and on his stepping inside, the artillery fired a salute. On each side stood, rank behind rank, the grandees of the realm, among whom the Minister's brothers and cousins held conspicuous places. Dressed in a magnificent robe of white silk, which set off his slim figure to great advantage, and bowing as he approached the pavilion, he looked truly the hero who had braved perils both on land and water, to visit one of the greatest countries of the earth. Decked with a coronet of the brightest silver, studded with a galaxy of pearls, diamonds, and emeralds, and with the sword presented by Napoleon III hanging at his side, he drew all eyes upon him as he advanced to the seat of honour in the middle of the pavilion. . . . On taking his seat, he received an address of welcome from the vast group, to whom he spoke in a few, well-chosen words of acknowledgment. As he drove to the palace, the populace in the streets showered flowers and vermilion upon him, while the regiments posted along the route presented arms as he passed by."

But there was another side to all this display of welcome, and Jang Bahadur knew it. I have omitted from the foregoing description one short sentence, which states how his bodyguard, the only soldiers in the hall, stood close behind him, armed with double-barrelled rifles. It is perhaps the most significant factor in this great scene. Ten days later, with the full assent and co-operation of large numbers of those who had thus received the Prime Minister, a conspiracy for his assassination was detected, which had not only been under long and careful consideration and prepared with the utmost foresight and care, but had been from first to last conceived and organized by Jang Bahadur's own brother, Badri Narsingh. On the 16th February General Bam Bahadur, who had been left in charge during Jang Bahadur's absence, went to Thapathali. He did not at once disclose the purpose of his visit; but a flood of tears soon told Jang Bahadur that his brother had something of deep import to reveal. Bit by bit it all came out. There is hardly a more dramatic picture in recent Nepalese psychology than that of this midnight scene. For Bam Bahadur, still in tears over the fire, revealed a plot against Jang Bahadur's life which had been supported by the royal family, and had been organized by Jang Bahadur's own brother. It was intended to shoot him the next day on his way to Basantpur. Badri Narsingh had arranged for his brother's murder by a hired assassin. The King Surendra was at the same time to be murdered by his younger brother, Upendra. Once Upendra had seated himself upon the throne he would reorganize the Government by appointing Bam Bahadur as Prime Minister, Badri Narsingh as Commander-in-Chief, and Jai Bahadur and

Kazi Karbar Kahattri to the offices of Commanding-General next in succession.

The question of the guilt of Bam Bahadur himself cannot be settled quite as easily as Jang Bahadur's son and biographer assumes. This raises the general question of Jang Bahadur's seemingly miraculous escapes from a continual danger of assassination. Europeans are not perhaps as apt as Orientals to believe in a kind of prevailing, divinely-sent luck or fate, which of course cannot by any means be altered or averted, whatever the efforts of, in this case, his enemies. This belief in a personal "star" was firmly held by Napoleon, and no small part of his continual successes up to 1812 was due, not only to his own confidence in that luck, but to his power of mesmerizing those who surrounded him.

At the last moment Bam Bahadur's courage failed him. He made a clean breast of all the details of the conspiracy. That Jang Bahadur was not entirely unsuspicious of Bam Bahadur may be gleaned from the fact that he warned him of the consequences that would ensue were the information false. By this time we have begun to know the man, and we can believe that he wasted no time with his brother. He armed the Thapathali guard at once, and with them crossed the maidan immediately to the Kot. Here also he armed the garrison, and before any warning to the conspirators could be given, he sent a company of a hundred men to the house of each of them. Jang knew his friends in his own household. Colonel Jagat Sham Sher was sent to arrest Jai Bahadur; Jang's oldest friend, Captain Ran Mehar Adhikari, commanded the company that was to secure Badri Narsingh himself; Rana Udip Singh went to the palace for Prince Upendra. Colonel Dhir Sham Sher was made responsible for the mobilization of the guards and of Jang's own regiment should any trouble arise. Everything succeeded as by clockwork. Within two hours from the blurted-out confession of Bam Bahadur all four conspirators were brought in chains to the Kot. There they found a Council presided over by the King, his father the ex-King—Jang Bahadur's dexterity was never more subtly shown than by this touch—and a number of chiefs. At the trial the prisoners denied all knowledge of the conspiracy. Their houses were instantly searched, and a paper was found bringing home to each of the offenders his complicity in this plot. Next day the trial was resumed, and Badri Narsingh called aloud to heaven to witness his innocence. He invoked the wrath of God on this foul fratricidal plot, but was cut short by the orders of Jang Bahadur, who exhibited the document that had been found, and ordered Captain Sataram to strike Badri Narsingh over the mouth with his shoe. Badri Narsingh's courage broke under this insult, and he confessed his guilt. It was a difficult matter to award a fitting punishment. Jang Bahadur at once rejected the first decision of the court, which was that of death, and the second, which was that of blinding them with hot irons.

The course of events had so firmly established Jang Bahadur's predominance that the anger of the army against the conspirators had also to be reckoned with. In this predicament Jang Bahadur took a step which was perhaps of more importance than it seemed. He wrote to the Indian Government and asked them to take charge of the prisoners. The Indian Government, with its long patience and sympathy, consented to receive them and to confine them at Allahabad. And on the 24th June 1851 the disgraced quartette left Katmandu for their exile in India.

But even so, Jang Bahadur's life was not free from anxiety. Two or three weeks later the King announced his intention of abdicating. Into the silent tangles of palace intrigue it is impossible to go. It is clear that the King could have no sympathy with his would-be murderers, but it may have been an inducement to him to escape by abdication a renewal of the plot. Moreover, it is not impossible that the practical omnipotence of Jang Bahadur at this moment had left him in a position scarcely different from that of a prisoner. No one knew better than Jang the workings of this unhappy and deranged brain, and it can be imagined that, when the two men met to discuss the King's intention, there was only one possible issue. Jang Bahadur's own son, indeed, admits that direct threats were used to compel the King to abandon his intention. In November 1852 Jang Bahadur was compelled to face another plot, which was confessed to him in circumstances similar to those by which he was forewarned of Badri Narsingh's treachery.

From this time onward there was comparative peace, and the Prime Minister was able to achieve his ambition of making a short tour in India. It is worth recording, as proof of Jang Bahadur's health and hardness, that he left Aliganj on the frontier, eighteen miles on the other side of Sagauli, at midnight on the 26th May 1853. He reached Sagauli at 2 a.m. on the 27th and actually arrived at his own house in Katmandu (Thapathali) between 3 and 4 p.m. That is, Jang Bahadur rode on horseback in the very hottest period of the Indian year, 103 miles in between 15½ and 16 hours, the ride involving the climb and descent of two of the worst passes in Asia.

In September of that year the Indian Government informed the Prime Minister of the death of Jai Bahadur. With that curious tendency to mercy which marked him on almost every occasion since the great massacre which placed him in power, Jang Bahadur then gave permission for the return of his brother, Badri Narsingh, and of Prince Upendra. They were still treated as State prisoners, and Badri Narsingh was secured from further ill-doing by being sent to Palpa. His own son, Kedar Narsingh, a boy of fourteen, was appointed Governor of the place, and was made responsible for his father's actions. Shortly afterwards Badri Narsingh was completely pardoned.

In 1854 the long feud between the Prime Minister and the Guru Prasad was ended by the recall of the latter and Jang Bahadur's marriage with his sister. It was, of course, a stroke of policy. No love was manifested on either side, but the presence of Fateh Jang's daughter in Thapathali was a safer guarantee of the Guru's abstention from further crime than his internment at Bettia. At the same time Jang secured the silence, if not the goodwill, of the royal family by marrying his eldest son, Jagat Jang, to the eldest daughter of the King. The bridegroom on this occasion was eight years old, and the bride six.

The persistent ill-will and suspicion between Tibet and Nepal had once more blazed up in the month of May 1854. The occasion, if not the cause, was the abominable treatment of the five-yearly Nepalese mission to Peking during its passage through Tibet. But this was only a last straw. Apart from the tradition of friction along the Nepal-Tibet frontier, which is not extinguished to this day, the real causes of Jang Bahadur's Tibetan operations were the perpetual ill-treatment and injustice shown to Nepalese residents in Lhasa, combined with the steady refusal of the Tibetan authorities to offer the slightest compensation or to take any steps to prevent the repetition of the wrong-doing. No doubt also Jang Bahadur's intention was to seize the districts lying to the south of the towns of Kirong and Kuti. Oldfield asserts that in 1792 the Chinese had annexed to Tibet the mountain regions of Nepal from the Himalayan range to the hills immediately to the north of the Valley of Nepal. This seems an over-statement. No reference to it is to be found in the record below the Potala; indeed, it seems directly contradicted by the clause beginning: "Even if all those territories," etc., vol. ii, p. 273. The moment was favourable for action, as the Chinese troops had been recalled home to overcome the famous Taiping rebellion under Hung Siu-tuan, which raged in the eastern provinces of China and threatened the capital itself.

Jang Bahadur declared war upon Tibet. He created a new army corps of 14,000 foot and 1,200 horse, together with some light mounted guns, in addition to the standing army.¹ These preparations did not prevent the Prime Minister's attention to internal affairs. On 24th February 1855 the second daughter of the King was married to Jang Bahadur's second son, Jit Jang Bahadur.²

¹ The Nepalese expeditionary force against Tibet in 1854 is said to have amounted to 27,000 men with 29,000 partially armed coolies and camp followers. Only about 7,000 fighting men were left in Nepal. This effort exhausted Nepal and did not result in the re-acquisition of the debated ground along the northern frontier. Nepal only gained the promise of the Tibetans to pay an annual tribute of 10,000 rupees. During the Tibetan expedition of 1854-56 the scarcity of food on the frontier induced Jang Bahadur to have the yaks officially declared by the Raj Guru not oxen but deer, in order that they might be used as food by orthodox Hindus.

² A curious ceremony in connection with this marriage was a review of 28,000 Nepalese

Ten days later the Nepalese army marched against Tibet. The two passes of Kuti and Kirong were the first objectives of the Nepalese force. Jang Bahadur apparently intended to send a third force through Sikkim—probably by the Jeplela and the Chumbi Valley—but Lhasa issued imperative orders to the King of Sikkim that all passes leading between Sikkim and Nepal should be closed. This was accordingly done. The first expeditionary force started for Kuti under General Dhir Sham Sher, and after a fight near the village of Chusan near Khassa, the fortress which dominated the pass was captured. Bam Bahadur commanded the second expeditionary force, and occupied Kirong without encountering opposition. It is not necessary to give the details of this struggle. Large reinforcements soon arrived from Katmandu, and Jagat Sham Sher was shortly able to report the capture of Jhanga after a sanguinary fight of nine days. On hearing of this notable success Jang Bahadur left Katmandu to take command at the front.

After securing the position thus gained, the Prime Minister and his two chief lieutenants returned to Katmandu for the autumn. Some time was wasted in attempts at negotiation. In November bad news arrived from both Kuti and Jhanga. The enemy had carried the former place by storm with heavy loss to the Gurkhas; and the second, though it still maintained a successful defence, had suffered severe casualties. Kuti was eventually recaptured by reinforcements under Dhir Sham Sher, who advanced ten miles farther into Tibet and captured Suna-Gompa.

It was found impossible to effect a junction between the Nepalese forces at Jhanga and Suna-Gompa, and operations were suspended while further overtures of peace from the Tibetans were received. It was realized that the Nepalese, though well able to defend their own borders, were not likely to put a stranglehold upon Tibet as they had sixty-four years before. Negotiations were then carried through, and a treaty was made at Thapathali on the 24th of March 1856. This document pledged the two governments to the following terms.¹ Both were to continue to regard the Emperor of China with respect as heretofore. The Tibet Government undertook to pay ten thousand rupees annually to the Nepal Government. The Nepalese undertook to assist Tibet so far as they were able in defending herself against any invading foreign power—a clause which may have been merely conventional but which, in the circumstances, seems to point to the Tibetan fear of the intrusion of India. It has been said that in return the Tibetans undertook to supply porters and carriers in the event of Nepal

troops upon the Tundi Khel. All of them were dressed in Tibetan costume, in order to impress an envoy from Lhasa who had come down to negotiate peace. The Tibetans repeated this device in 1904. See vol. ii, p. 112.

¹ For a detailed account of the discrepancies between the several translations of this Treaty see Appendix XXII, vol. ii.

being invaded; but there is no mention of this obligation in the Treaty. The third clause requires a little attention, as it is the subject of some discussion at this moment. "Tibet shall not levy any taxes (on routes), duties (on merchandise), and rates (of any other kind) leviable by Tibet on the merchants and subjects of the country of Gorkha."¹ There were the usual terms as to restoration of prisoners, etc. A "bharadar" or envoy, not a Naikya or Newar, was to be in permanent residence to protect Nepalese interests in Lhasa. Complete freedom of trade was granted to Nepalese subjects in Tibet. Ex-territoriality was conceded to the Nepalese residing in Lhasa, so far as any dispute arising between them is affected. High officials were to be appointed by the respective Governments to decide quarrels between the two races. The shrewd addition was made that all fines should go to the Government of the man who was fined. Men charged with homicide were to be extradited,² should the offender have subsequently fled across the border. The other articles are not of great importance.

The evacuation of the Nepalese forces was begun on the 1st of April 1856.

Unexpected in action, whether in peace or war, Jang Bahadur four months later resigned the office of Prime Minister on the grounds of ill-health. No one has quite understood his motive in taking this step. But it soon became clear that, while resigning the office, Jang Bahadur did not intend to relax his grasp on the reins of government. And though his brother, Bam Bahadur, acted as Prime Minister until his death—which occurred shortly after—the advice of Jang Bahadur was invariably asked and was carried out on every occasion. It is possible that Jang Bahadur intended to remind the Nepalese of his indispensability. Certainly within a short time he had the satisfaction of being offered the crown itself by a deputation of the most prominent men in the country, headed by Raj Guru Bijai Raj. The answer of Jang Bahadur was characteristic. "Since you say that your proposal to bestow the crown on me will be conducive to the good of my country, it will receive my best consideration. But as I can supervise the work of government without the gaudy encumbrance of a crown, I am not at all disposed to fill the place of one whom I have myself set upon the throne. If my country really needs my humble services so much, I shall not hesitate to return to duty with the first feeling of returning health." It would be difficult to condense into so few words a warning to

¹ The gradual transference of all portage from the Nepal passes to the Sikkim-Chumbi route has apparently raised the question whether this exemption from duties is applicable when goods are imported into Tibet through a third country. Lhasa has recently attempted to enforce its customs duties against such goods, and the Nepalese have stoutly opposed the claim. It will be seen by this clause that the test to be applied is whether the goods belong to the Nepalese merchants, etc., not whether they are imported over Nepalese passes. Nepal is clearly in the right.

² The text is obscure here. The Nepalese version declares that only murderers of men of their own race shall be extradited. See Appendix XXII, vol. II.

his brother that nothing was to be done without his approval, an insult to the King whose abdication he claimed the right to demand at any moment, and an intimation to all officials that they might be called to account by him without notice of any kind.

The deputation then proposed to confer upon Jang Bahadur the principalities of Kaski and Lamjung, giving him and his successors the title of Maharaja. This honour he accepted—with remainder to each member of his family in turn who became Prime Minister of Nepal. But—and this casts another light upon his resignation—he was also given astonishing powers which he could exercise, not only within his new principalities, but over the country from the Maha Kali on the west to the Mechi on the east—



THE OLD RESIDENCE OF THE RAJAS OF LAMJUNG

that is to say, over the entire extent of Nepal. He was thereby given the powers of life and death and punishment: of appointing and dismissing all Government servants; of declaring war, concluding peace, and signing treaties with all foreign Powers including the British, the Tibetans, and the Chinese: and finally he was given the authority to make new laws and repeal any old ones, whether civil, criminal, or military.

But this was not all. The charter which granted these powers confirmed the Prime Ministership in Jang Bahadur's family on the principle, well known in Mohammedan countries, of devolution to the eldest agnate. This principle is in force to-day. It means that, after the brothers and cousins of one generation have in their turn enjoyed the Prime Ministership—according to the date of their birth, be it noted, not according to the seniority of their fathers—the office then descends to the eldest born of the next generation, which then enjoys in turn the Prime Ministership in the

same fashion, and afterwards hands it down to the third, fourth, and all succeeding generations in the same way. A more important matter still was that Jang Bahadur was given the right to coerce the King in any manner he pleased, should His Majesty mismanage the affairs of State. It must be confessed that it is difficult to imagine any way in which His Majesty could, in the circumstances, so offend.

But all this, flattering and effective as it was, was marred by the steady refusal of the Indian Government to deal with any but the official Prime Minister. Calcutta refused to meddle with the internal privileges and arrangements of Nepal. They would deal with the Prime Minister, and with him alone. If Jang Bahadur chose to resign his office to his brother, India would deal with that brother without asking any questions. But Jang Bahadur, dictator of Nepal, was a person of whom they had no official knowledge. This attitude on the part of the Governor-General was intensely resented by Jang Bahadur. He could not, however, prevail upon the Resident to recognize in him any but a distinguished Nepalese chief. Business he would not discuss. Probably to the relief of all concerned, Bam Bahadur died on 25th May 1857.¹ At once Jang Bahadur reassumed the office of Prime Minister. But he did not take up this burden without having to deal once more with a plot against his life.

Immediately afterwards the Mutiny broke out. It is possible that Jang Bahadur had informally discussed the Indian situation with the Resident before his brother's death, as only seven days later he made an offer to send six thousand Gurkhas to the assistance of the Indian Government.¹ In too confident anticipation of the Governor-General's consent, Colonel Ramsay accepted the offer, and about two regiments were at once ordered to proceed to India. But the answer of Lord Canning threw cold water on the scheme. He explained in the kindest and most grateful terms that the presence of Nepalese troops might have anything but a desirable effect, for it might either indicate the inability of the English to control the situation, or set on foot rumours that Nepal itself was on the side of the rebels. It may be imagined with what contempt Jang Bahadur heard these excuses.

But Lord Canning rapidly altered his mind. On the 26th of June a second despatch from the Governor-General expressed his gratitude for the kindly offer of Nepal, and invited the Maharaja to send his first contingent immediately to the aid of Lucknow. Three thousand troops were at once despatched. It is significant and only right to record that on this occasion Jang Bahadur acted entirely on his own initiative. The great

¹ Emphasis is laid by Jang Bahadur's son and biographer on the apparent fact that he was the first Prime Minister of Nepal to die a natural death. He died fifteen days after the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny at Meerut.

Council of the State was, as a matter of fact, by no means agreed as to the wisdom of this intervention.

The Nepalese troops moved down the valley of the Trisul Ganga and occupied two towns which had been used as head-quarters by the rebels. One detachment marched forty miles in one day, were moved off again at one o'clock on the following morning, and though tired out with a continuous march of about sixty miles, carried the enemy's position at the first rush. The Nepalese then swept down through Audh, through Azamgarh and Jaunpur to Chanda and Sohanpur.

This rapid and resolute action on the part of the Nepalese was of the utmost service to the British troops. It enabled them to continue their operations towards Lucknow without fear of a flank attack. In July Jang Bahadur offered the services of another Gurkha force to be commanded by himself in person. Crude as ever, Lord Canning took four months to send an acceptance of this great loyalty. Then Jang Bahadur smote at once with his accustomed rapidity and force. His capture of Gorakhpur in January 1858 effectively broke both the military strength and the prestige of the rebels throughout the north of the kingdom of Audh. Success after success followed the movements of the Nepalese columns. On the 10th of March Jang Bahadur arrived at the British Commander-in-Chief's (Sir Colin Campbell's) camp outside Lucknow. After cordial salutations had been exchanged, the Maharaja at once settled down to the work in hand. The Nepalese were thrown into the battle line at the Begam's Kothi, and two days later, by methods of storm tactics that the now weary and ill-conditioned mutineers were quite unable to withstand, Jang Bahadur cleared the rebel position in front of the Alam Bagh. In all the successful operations of the next few days the Nepalese had a distinguished share. One by one the capture of Chattar Munzil, the Moti Mahal, and at last of the Kaisar Bagh—where, it seems, the Himalayan highlanders were by no means behindhand in the work of plunder—rendered the position of the rebels desperate. A certain amount of street fighting remained to be done which was much to the taste of the Gurkha allies. They played a great part in the annihilation of the enemy's last stand at the Musa Bagh, and the relief of Lucknow was complete.

Thus, within a hundred days of his departure from Katmandu, Jang Bahadur had done yeoman service in the British cause, and it is interesting to note that his son places it upon record that, in the Maharaja's own view, his days of service during the Mutiny were the most important of his life. At no other time, he said, had his personal exertions been more strenuous or his individual responsibility more heavy. On the 23rd of March 1858 he left Lucknow and was received cordially by the Governor-General at Allahabad. It was at this meeting that Lord Canning first intimated that the British Government intended to restore to Nepal a large part of the

former Gurkha possessions in the Tarai which the Nepalese had ceded to the British in 1815.¹

The Maharaja arrived at Thapathali on the 4th of May. His first action was to snuff out the last hopes that the wretched royal family of Audh was entertaining of Nepalese assistance. His next duty was to present to the King a letter from Lord Canning thanking him most cordially for the great services rendered to the English by the Nepalese contingent. It is scarcely necessary to add more testimonies to the brilliant work of the Gurkhas during the all-important period of the Mutiny when they came in to the help of the troops of the British Government. The story of their loyal assistance is only eclipsed by the record of the even greater aid which Nepal gave during the Great War—and indeed for some time after it.

We now have to take up the story of the refugee rebels from India who were swarming across the frontier in increasing numbers. These men came into Nepal, not only fully armed but for the most part retaining the discipline and distribution of their original cadres. As the Katmandu Arsenal is able to prove, they even displayed the colours that had been given them by the Queen, and in at least one case by the Indian prince whose service they had left to join the rebellion. They also had—though the matter is involved in obscurity—a few guns. There was some delay in dealing with the refugee problem owing to the death of Jang Bahadur's mother on the 8th of August; but at the end of October Jang Bahadur, gravely concerned at this new and unexpected situation, took the field himself with eleven regiments of infantry and a regiment of artillery.

He reached Palpa on the 11th of November and reviewed the Tansing brigade commanded by his brother, Badri Narsingh. It must have been with mixed feelings that the latter received from Jang Bahadur a present of ten thousand rupees and a pair of rich shawls. Jang here received the son of the King of Audh, with his mother the Begam Hazrat Mahal. He assured them of his protection, and gave them a residence near Thapathali. When he arrived at the rendezvous of the rebels he found that their numbers had swollen to 23,000, of whom 11,000 were under arms. These were, of course, at once surrendered. The case of Nana Sahib, his brother Bala Rao, and Azimullah Khan will be discussed later. It is noteworthy that no less than eighteen English men and women, all of them non-combatants, had been brought by the rebels across the frontier into Nepalese territory—no doubt with the intention of holding them as hostages. These were at once released, and provision was made for their return to India.

¹ This territory extends from the river Gogria on the west to the district of Gorakhpur on the east, and is bounded on the south by Khyragarh and the district of Bahraich. It is a narrow strip of land about 200 miles in length. The date of the treaty by which Jang Bahadur obtained the recession of the Audh Tarai was 1st November 1860.

With this ended the stormy and eventful period of Jang Bahadur's career. Honours and honour still awaited him, but the drastic years of his life were over. Securely and certainly established upon his throne—none the less real because it was vicarious—Jang Bahadur watched and warded his mountain State with a vigilance that was all the more wary because it was unopposed, and the more relentless because he trusted none—not even the nearest of his kin.

About a year later the Maharaja was nominated by Queen Victoria a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath, and Colonel Ramsay presented the jewels of the Order to the Maharaja at a specially convened Darbar. This high distinction was accompanied by a letter from the Prince Consort, Grand Master of the Order of the Bath. In reply, Jang Bahadur expressed his sense of the honour conferred upon him, and added a promise that he would have been glad to know was nobly fulfilled by his successor, Chandra. "I beg that Your Royal Highness will be pleased to convey to Her Majesty my sincere acknowledgments for this very high mark of favour and of honour, and that you will also express the gratification I feel at the high consideration with which Her Majesty regards my humble services, which will again be freely placed at the Viceroy's disposal should occasion ever arise upon which they may be useful."

The remainder of the life of Jang Bahadur, if more charged with duties, was less full of excitement than his early years. Peace reigned in Nepal, and beyond the regular routine of an office through which a vast proportion of the details of government passed, he seems to have lived quietly, amusing himself by big game shooting, and by constant attention to the well-being of his elephants. This hobby had always been of particular interest to Jang Bahadur throughout his life, and towards its close was a constant obsession. He took great interest in natural history of all kinds, and the present Prime Minister possesses enormous albums, some of them nearly six feet in length, in which with meticulous care the Maharaja's artists had drawn for him representations of nearly all the larger game of Nepal, together with hundreds of illustrations of smaller beasts, birds, and even butterflies.

Month after month and year after year now passed without political disturbance. Jang Bahadur attached much importance to the improvement of communications, amongst which he included the newly established post office. Although he had now reached an age which in Oriental eyes seems to justify a less exacting regime of duty, Jang Bahadur still took the same pleasure in personally superintending any special work that had to be done. Whether it were a matter of adjusting some question with India; or releasing a terrified village from the menace of a couple of man-eating tigers; or dealing with some miscarriage of justice in a remote province; or the putting out of a fire in Katmandu or Patan; or consulting the

comfort of his elephants by digging an enormous swimming bath in the bed of the Bagmati; or seeing to the daily life of his people by wanderings in mufti through the streets of his capitals;—there was nothing in Nepal that was not coloured by the keen-eyed personality of, and the relentless exaction of all official duty by, the Maharaja.

His chief helpers were, of course, his brothers. The death of Krishna promoted Rana Udip Singh to the place of Commander-in-Chief; and Dhir Sham Sher, father of the present Maharaja, then automatically became



JANG BAHADUR'S TEMPLE OF KALAMOCHAN

Senior Commanding General. Jang Bahadur made periodical visits over the greater part of Nepal, and the official who was found to be either dishonest or slack had reason to regret the inspection. But there is no great interest either in recalling these details of administration, or the fierce spells of wild game hunting in which perhaps the great Maharaja found the only real happiness of his later life.

The fact remains that long after he had apparently doubled Cape Security, and could expect loyalty from all quarters as a matter not merely of prudence but of appreciation and respect, his intense reserve and his impenetrable seclusion were maintained until the day of his death. After

the death of General Krishna he scarcely saw those who in a measure could claim intimacy with him—not even the members of his own family. The present Maharaja has told me that, although he was thirteen years old at the death of his uncle, he had hardly been in his presence more than three or four times. The iron of those early days of family strife and constant danger had entered too deeply into the soul of Jang Bahadur for him to make friendships even where the tie of blood was strongest. He had no solace in any form of literary distraction. He did, indeed, learn to write after a fashion, but—as King Henry VIII of England long before admitted, “wryttinge is alwaies somethinge paynefulle unto mee,”—it was an irksome business for Jang Bahadur, and reading gave him hardly any greater pleasure. His irritability, to which reference has already been made, increased with years.

In 1872, on the 19th of April, he received from the Emperor of China the highest honour that His Celestial Majesty could give—the insignia of *T'ung ling ping ma kuo kan wang*, which were accompanied by the Double-Eyed Peacock Feather and the Sable Coat.¹

In September 1874 Jang Bahadur went to Calcutta in order finally to settle certain boundary disputes which had existed for some time. Two months later he was seized with a sudden wish to pay a second visit to Europe. Everything was made ready, and all preparations for his absence from Nepal were completed. The party that was to accompany the Maharaja consisted of the Commander-in-Chief, Generals Jagat Jang, Jit Jang, Babar Jang, Ranbir Jang, Bir Sham Sher, and many others, including his son and biographer, Padma Jang. The journey through India was conducted in great state, and at Benares he did not fail to pay a visit to the ex-Queen of Nepal and her two sons. A slight misunderstanding prevented him from carrying out his purpose of bathing at Allahabad at the sacred confluence of the Ganges and Jumna. It appears that he had unwittingly offended against a strict rule that at the *melas*—whereat as many as a million or a million and a half of devotees are sometimes collected—the bearing of arms is strictly prohibited. Sir John Strachey reminded the Maharaja of this rule, but his courteous protest was taken amiss by Jang, and even when special permission was telegraphed from Calcutta, the latter said that he would prefer to postpone the ceremony till he returned. On the 21st of January 1875 he reached Bombay, inspected the steamer that had been engaged, and ordered his vast piles of luggage to be taken on board. But the journey was never made.

On the 3rd of February the Maharaja rode out in the evening through the streets, and his horse, taking sudden fright, bolted, throwing him on to the stone pavement. His chest was severely hurt, and the European doctor who was at once called in said that although there was no danger,

¹ See Appendix II.

the Maharaja would require special treatment for about a month. Jang Bahadur did not at once abandon his intention of revisiting Europe, but the time-honoured jealousy that has always existed between the European and the Indian methods of healing was too strong for him. Nepalese physicians, aided by the entreaties of the Maharanis—who had come down from Nepal on hearing of the accident—over-persuaded the Maharaja, and he announced his intention of postponing the voyage till the next year. He returned by the same road, and carried out his purpose of bathing at Allahabad. He arrived back in his own house on the 20th of April.

In the following year the Prince of Wales—afterwards the King-Emperor Edward VII—visited India, and made no concealment of his pleasure when he received an invitation from Jang Bahadur to attend one of the famous big game shoots in the Tarai. A camp was arranged at Jamoa on the Nepalese bank of the Surda, and the most cordial greetings were exchanged between the Maharaja and the Prince.¹ The proceedings followed the usual course of a Nepalese big game shoot. The Prince of Wales watched a procession of eight hundred elephants crossing the river Surda, and that evening was told that a herd of wild elephants had been discovered. Jang Bahadur invited His Royal Highness to watch a “kheddah,” or the ringing in and capture of these wild brutes. The days passed quickly, and good sport was always shown. A large number of tigers, leopards, deer, and boars were bagged, and a second “kheddah” afforded the Prince of Wales an even better opportunity of seeing the skill and strength of the trained elephants.

On the 6th of March the Prince returned to India, and the Maharaja went back to Thapathali. His suspicion that all was not well with him had been confirmed by the opinion of Surgeon-General Fayrer, who was in attendance on the Prince of Wales. This famous physician had gravely warned the Maharaja that a fatty growth was increasing about his heart, and that if it continued, death would be inevitable. Thereupon Jang Bahadur made provision for his end. He distributed his lands and money among his sons and the Maharanis.² The news of the death of two sons, Nar Jang and Babar Jang, increased his depression, which was not relieved by the further news of the death of his favourite fighting elephant. In his trouble he had recourse to his usual distraction. He went out big game shooting.

But after a short expedition he fell ill on the 25th of February 1877,

¹ Accompanying the Prince of Wales were Lord Suffield, Lord Alfred Paget, Prince Louis of Battenberg, the Earl of Aylesford, Lieutenant Lord Charles Beresford, R.N., Lord Carrington, General Sir Dighton Probyn, V.C., Sir S. Brown, Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur Ellis, and several others.

² This is an indication that, in his own case also, he wished to discourage the practice of *sati*.

and—a rare thing indeed with Jang Bahadur—the day's march was counter-ordered. The cause of his trouble has never been exactly known. He suffered intensely from fever and alternate spells of heat and cold. Soon afterwards he failed to recognize even his own relations. Perhaps this fact is to be explained by his rapidly failing eyesight. Nepalese medicines and stimulants were given, but it was soon clear that all hope must be abandoned. Nothing could be done for the dying Master of Nepal. There was just time to carry him to the banks of the Bagmati at Patharghatta. He was placed on the bank of the river, where he lay for long silent, in a comatose condition. Towards midnight he passed away peacefully, and his body was burned with full ceremony. The three senior Maharanis insisted on committing *sati* in order to accompany their husband on his unknown journey. There could be no better conclusion to this sudden end of a great life than the dignified words of the senior Maharani:

“Gentlemen, you all know the love the Maharaja had for you, and the zeal with which he devoted his life to the welfare of your country.

“If in the discharge of his duty he has ever by word, look, or deed wronged any one of you, I, on his behalf, ask you to forgive him, and to join me in praying for the everlasting peace of his soul.”

CHAPTER IX

NANA SAHIB

ONE of the unsolved mysteries of Asiatic history will always be the exact date of the death of Nana Sahib and the manner of his ending. In these days a younger generation has grown up to whom the name of Nana Sahib means little—or at least much less than to their fathers and grandfathers. Yet beyond all rivalry or comparison for the last half of the nineteenth century Nana Sahib was held by the civilized world to be almost the devil incarnate. It is not necessary to go into the details of his leadership of the great Mutiny, but it will be remembered that it was this man who, after promising a safe conduct to the European defenders of General Marshall's entrenchments at Cawnpore, not only shot down in cold blood the unarmed garrison as they left the Massacre Ghat but carried back the women and children to the House of the Women and there had the larger number slaughtered in cold blood and all of them, living or dead, thrown down into the well which remains the place of pilgrimage of every English visitor to India.

On the 16th July 1857 the approach of Havelock drove Nana Sahib out of his capital. He retired through Bithur, where amid the busy preparations and precautions which his defeat had rendered necessary and his feverish search for every jewel on which he could lay his hands, he still found time to order the murder of Mrs. Carter and her month-old infant, the only Europeans left within his reach. It is to the lasting credit of the widow of Baji Rao, and of Kasi Bai, Nana's youngest wife, that they had six weeks before protected Mrs. Carter, vowing that they would destroy themselves if a woman in her condition were killed.

On the 6th December of the same year came an end to his pretensions. Sir Colin Campbell defeated him and Tantia Topi and pursued them for fourteen miles along the road to Kalpi. Hope Grant was in charge of the pursuit but was delayed by the necessity of securing the guns abandoned by Nana's troops at Serai Ghat. Major Russell continued the pursuit, but Nana Sahib and his companions made good their escape across the frontier into Nepal.

From this moment a curious fog descends upon the story. But I have had the opportunity of examining the records, not only of what used to be known as the Thagi and Dacoiti Department and the few but interesting

documents possessed by the Indian Foreign Office, but the Maharaja of Nepal has placed at my disposal all papers dealing with the matter that his own State Departments contain. More than this will probably never be known¹

It may be useful to recall the exact position which Nana Sahib occupied. He was the second son of Madho Rao Bhao Bhat, whose wife was the sister of the wife of Baji Rao, the last Peshwa of Poona. Baji Rao was the representative of the Maratha claim to the empire of India, and when he went into compulsory retirement there is no doubt that he took with him the sympathy of a large number of Hindus, though his personal record was not of the best. The Indian Government treated him with generosity. It allowed him the handsome pension of £80,000 a year and permission to choose his own place of residence. He was childless, and it was made clear from the outset that this pension was to be a personal annuity, and would not descend to anyone. He elected to live at Bithur, a town about thirteen miles north-north-west of Cawnpore, and adopted two sons in order that at his death there should be no mistake about the performance of the last rites. Nana Sahib—then known as Dhandu Pant—was chosen together with another boy who died soon afterwards, and whose place was filled ultimately by Gangadhai Bhat, the Nana's younger brother, who was afterwards known as Bala Rao.

The ex-Peshwa's choice of Bithur—or, as it was then frequently called, Brahma-wat—is significant. Bithur is well known to Hindus as the especial place of resort of those who have a grievance. It is reputed to be the vindicator of every injured man. In 1851 Baji Rao died, and Nana Sahib, in spite of the definite warnings of the Indian Government, immediately set on foot an untiring agitation for the enjoyment of the pension which had been allowed to his adopted father. He sent his secretary, an ex-khitmagar, Azimullah Khan, to London to induce the Court of Directors to admit his claim, but without success. In the circumstances it was a monstrous proposal. Baji Rao had by will left Nana Sahib property which has been estimated at two million pounds, and as an act of grace the Court of Directors had offered him in addition the revenues of a small district. This latter concession was rejected, but Nana Sahib from Bithur continued to show the utmost friendship to the English in Cawnpore.

When Nana Sahib fled, he took with him the widow of Baji Rao and Kasi Bai. The latter lived for fifty years in a retreat in Katmandu which was provided for her by Jang Bahadur and is well remembered by middle-aged men still living in the Valley. At the time of the flight she was thirteen years old. She was the daughter of one Ramchandra Sakhambar Karmakar.

¹ As a concluding chapter to a book dealing with India, which I published in 1906, I traced the story of this unresolved problem, but I then had only partial information to help me.

Her name was originally Sundra Bai, and she was known in Nana's household both as Kasi Bai and Krishna Bai. She was also called Kaku Bai. This confusion of names is characteristic of everyone concerned. Most of the Nana's adherents had two names, and many even more. To this complication, which was not wholly understood at the time by the Indian Government, is due no small amount of the uncertainty of nearly all information reaching the Investigation Department from Nepal.

With these two ladies the Nana took with him on his flight his brother Bala Rao, Tantia Topi the younger, Baba Godbole, Jannu Singh, and Parusiam Jagmal, servants. It is probable that Tantia Topi the elder and his wife accompanied Nana on this occasion, but if so, the former must almost immediately have left Nepal and made his way back to India. The story of their reception on the frontier is strange. They were received by Kedar Narsingh, a Nepalese general who had been specially deputed to meet them by Jang Bahadur. He escorted them to a small village called Deondari, probably identical with Deongarh near Tribeni Ghat. There they awaited orders.

It must have been an anxious moment for Nana Sahib. He may well have encountered on the road some of the contingent of eight thousand men that Nepal was sending to the help of the English at that moment. Moreover Jang Bahadur had an ugly method of dealing with emergencies. However, there was no help for it. There was no safety for Nana in India as he knew well enough. At last instructions were sent down by Jang Bahadur. His terms were simple. Kasi Bai and the other women¹ and the servants were to put themselves under the protection of the Prime Minister, but Jang Bahadur emphatically refused to extend any shelter to Nana Sahib himself. "Tell Nana Sahib and Bala Rao I will not protect them and disturb my relations with the English. If you want to fight the English and the Gorkhalis, say so, and you shall be massacred to a man." There was a curious rumour which caused the Governor-General in India some anxiety that two Englishmen had been carried off by Nana Sahib at the time of his flight. Narsingh Padhya sent in a report to Sidhiman Singh, the Military Governor of this district, that two Englishwomen had been murdered near Mumbukha cantonment.

According to the Calcutta records Nana Sahib accepted the implied suggestion that, provided Jang Bahadur never saw him again he would not be hunted for. He and Tantia the younger then delivered their wives over to the custody of the Nepalese, assumed the mendicant robes of the Atit order, and went west. But before leaving Deondari, one of the most dramatic incidents of this flight took place. Nana Sahib, as has been said, took with him from Bithur the most valuable jewels in his possession. They

¹ Besides his wife and his adoptive mother Nana Sahib had taken two women from Bithur, who were living under his protection.

included the famous "Nau-lakha," the principal jewel of the Peshwa. It is—for it exists still—a long necklace of pearls, diamonds, and emeralds, and is perhaps without a rival in the world.¹

The quite unsympathetic Prime Minister offered 93,000 rupees, and Nana, compelled to take the offer or leave it, accepted the money. But Kasi Bai, with a shrewdness beyond her years, made a personal appeal to Jang Bahadur, and was given in place of the money the revenues of two villages, Dhangara and Raharia, in return for an annual payment by her of 4,500 rupees. This gave her a margin of between six and seven thousand rupees a year, besides the four hundred a month which Jang Bahadur allowed her for her maintenance and the use of a house rent free adjoining Thapathali outside Katmandu. Among other jewels belonging to Nana Sahib that were then transferred to the keeping of the Prime Minister's family in Nepal was a remarkable single emerald three inches in length, which Nana Sahib had had mounted as a seal. It is now the chief stone in the official head-dress of the Prime Minister, and may be seen lying horizontally against the right-hand side of the head-dress (see p. 238). Below it is a cluster of fine emeralds of great size like a bunch of grapes. This also is part of the treasures of Nana Sahib.

The Maharaja of Darbhanga also possesses a finger-ring set with a single diamond of the purest water and of great size. It is a shade under three-quarters of an inch in length and over half an inch in width. The writer has had this ring on his finger, and he wondered what emotion would have been caused to a clairvoyant by the contact of so intimate and personal a jewel that had belonged to such a complete and world-famous scoundrel.

Of other jewels brought by Nana Sahib into Nepal we have descriptions sent by Sidhiman Singh in the letters to Jang Bahadur to which reference will soon be made. He describes a necklace of forty-eight pearls and twenty-four emeralds, and sends a sketch of a magnificent diamond ornament of roughly oval shape just three inches in length and two in width. The central diamond was five-eighths of an inch in length and half an inch in width. It was surrounded by thirty-four diamonds close set. There was also an armlet three and a half inches by two inches consisting of a large Table diamond with thirty-one diamonds round it. Another smaller one

¹ The Maharaja of Darbhanga owns this necklace now. It descended through Jang Bahadur's brother, Rana Udip Singh, to Maharaja Bir Sham Sher, whose widow sold it to the Maharaja Deva Sham Sher during the short time that the latter was Prime Minister. In 1901 he was expelled from Nepal, and the Maharaja of Darbhanga has told the story to the writer of how a message reached him one night that a wonderful necklace was for sale. "I said at once that must be the Nepalese necklace, for I was certain that two such jewels did not exist. I asked for time to consider the matter but I was told that it was absolutely essential that the bargain should be concluded that night." The Maharaja of Darbhanga bought the necklace and has added slightly to it, but in its general shape it is practically what Nana Sahib sold to Jang Bahadur.

is one and three-quarters by seven-eighths inches. A certain number of these jewels were offered as bribes to Sidhiman Singh or to Jang Bahadur.

The story can now be taken up from the records of Katmandu. At this time General Dhir Sham Sher Jang was commanding in the Tarai, and the despatches of Brigadier-General G. A. Holdich report that the Nepalese authorities were active in searching for and surrounding the rebels who had taken refuge in Nepal. In June 1859 Sirdar Sidhiman Singh writes to Jang Bahadur from Dang and from Tara in the Tarai.¹ He says that Bala Rao, the Nana's brother, wanted to leave his family under the protection of Jang Bahadur.² He asserted that he and his brother belonged to the priest family of the Rajas in Sitara, and claimed that as a priest Jang Bahadur was the pupil of Bala Rao and owed him obedience. To this extraordinary claim Jang Bahadur replies that the English are his friends but that he will do what he can, provided he is not disloyal to this friendship. Bala Rao, whose movements were apparently unconstricted within certain limits, told Sidhiman Singh that he was going a little way away from Dang. Shortly afterwards Nana Sahib informed Sidhiman that he had sent two Christians and one English lady, who had been with them, together with other women in India to Tara.

Jang Bahadur replied that Sidhiman Singh had done well in offering shelter to the women and to the Englishwoman. But no protection could be offered to Nana Sahib or Bala Rao, nor could any arrangement be made for them with the British. Further trouble then ensued about the rumoured presence of an Englishwoman still in Nana Sahib's camp, or in the camp of the *late* Bala Rao. There seems to be some mistake about this, as Bala Rao showed Sidhiman Singh a receipt for the safe arrival of the lady at Gorakhpur signed by Mr. Burns, but spies were sent in to Bala Rao's camp to find out if there were any Christians there.

It was about this time that Bala Rao died, and the rumour of Nana Sahib's death was spread abroad. About October 1859 the mother of Nana Sahib and Bala Rao came to see Sidhiman Singh and said she wished to see Jang Bahadur as soon as he arrived. She complained that fever was attacking the women with her, and wished to be moved to a healthier spot. She told Sidhiman Singh that Nana Sahib had died at Deokari. Whether this was true or no the circumstances of her statement had been well prepared. She complained that she had no opportunities of celebrating a proper funeral for her son at Deokari, and she wanted therefore to carry out the *kurya* ceremony in due form in the presence of Sidhiman Singh.

¹ Dang is a district south-east of Salyana, about twenty miles distant. Tara is to be found on the map under the name of Tahada on the Budhwapati, north-east of Jarwad.

² And it is a new light upon the situation that he adds a request that Jang Bahadur should see that Nana Sahib and himself were smuggled through to Pharansidanga, by which he meant the French settlement of Chandernagore, "for that will mean our safety."

But she said she had no money and no white mourning. She also wanted to sell certain jewels, and Sidhiman Singh obtained an offer from a certain merchant—who may perhaps have been Jang Bahadur himself—of 10,000 rupees for the entire number.¹ This offer she refused at first, but eventually submitted to. The money was paid to her, and three ornaments were handed over to Sidhiman Singh. He wrote that they were so fine that he was unwilling to entrust them to the ordinary messenger to Katmandu. Sidhiman Singh complied with the wishes of Nana's mother, and sent a pandit and the necessary *pustak*, or funeral office book, for the purpose of the ceremony. The question of the European woman alleged to be detained still caused trouble, and Jang Bahadur was evidently becoming restive at the persistence of the Indian Government. He wrote to Sidhiman Singh that if she and all Christians were not surrendered, none of the rebel women would be protected and the whole lot of them would be captured and handed over to the English.

At this moment there seems to have been a general confusion. Nana Sahib's mother was insisting vehemently—perhaps too vehemently—that both her sons were dead. Sidhiman Singh was reporting the matter to Jang Bahadur, who, on his side, was probably receiving from the Indian Government demands for further and better particulars of Nana Sahib's death. Jang Bahadur passed these requests on to Sidhiman Singh, who practically says: "What can I do? If the British will tell me whose witness they will accept about Nana Sahib's death"—a thing that the British were obviously unable to do—"I can convince them." Meanwhile he had procured a frontal bone belonging, it was said, to the Nana Sahib. This his mother had sent, asking that it should receive formal burial at Benares.² Jang Bahadur commends Sidhiman Singh's action in bringing the *astu* of Nana Sahib from Deokari to Tara and arranging for the proper *kirya* (1916, *Kartik-sudi*, 10).

Now we will turn to the evidence which exists in the records of the Indian Foreign Office. The first intimation of Nana Sahib's death that was received by the Indian Government was contained in a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel G. Ramsay, the Resident in Nepal, dated 8th October 1859. He writes that Jang Bahadur had received on the previous evening a few lines from Sidhiman Singh mentioning the death of Nana Sahib on 24th September 1859. Sidhiman Singh's authority was a message received from the Nana's court in the Deokur Valley sent by the women of Nana's family. He forwards the news but suggests a doubt as to its accuracy.

¹ It is curious that with these jewels in her possession she professes she had not enough money to provide for the *kirya* ceremony for her son.

² This habit of sending a vital piece of the structure of the body in place of the body itself is well known. The technical name of the relic is *astu*.

The Indian Government seems to have taken some time in making enquiries, for it is not till the 4th December 1859 that the Indian Government formally—but rather sceptically—reports the matter to the Secretary of State in London.

With even greater leisureliness the India Office, referring to this letter, writes back on the 17th May 1860 to ask that this rumour of Nana Sahib's death and another of Azimullah Khan's death in Butwal at the beginning of December 1859 should be examined. Lord Canning, as we have seen, took steps to sound the Nepalese Government on the matter, but the difficulty of dealing with this affair was increased by the unwillingness of Jang Bahadur to discuss it with Colonel Ramsay.

On the 22nd July 1861 the Resident reported to Mr. E. C. Bayley, "if the Nana be still alive, the secret is buried in the breast of Jang Bahadur. . . . The subject is never now referred to by His Excellency except once when Mr. Peppé's servant at Gorakhpur said that Nana Sahib was alive, and the 'Friend of India' took the matter up." On one occasion Jang Bahadur asked Colonel Ramsay what his own opinion was, but the Resident evaded the question. The Prime Minister then said that if he were asked by the British Government about Nana Sahib he would say, "If you believe the Nana to be alive, you may send persons into Nepal to search for him, who shall be attended by several Nepalese officers to assist them in procuring supplies, and to protect them from insult or injury. If they succeed in finding the Nana, I will seize him and give him up to you, but before they cross the frontier, a formal written engagement must be made to this effect between the two Governments, with a proviso that, if you do not find the Nana within a reasonable time, the British Government shall cede to Nepal the tract of territory that has lately been refused me, viz., the low lands now composing the British Teraie, north of the eastern portion of Oude, which lie between the Arrah Nuddee and Bhugora-tal." Colonel Ramsay notes that this was a wager which Jang Bahadur could not lose, as he could with the utmost facility keep the Nana out of the way of any cavalcade of persons attended by officials of his own Government. It is perhaps from the terms of this astonishing and impossible offer that more suspicion as to the continued existence of Nana Sahib is aroused than from any other circumstance. But the story is by no means ended here.

Colonel Ramsay reports that Jang Bahadur had sold an estate in Butwal Tarai to a member of the Nana's family for 36,000 rupees, and he adds that the Nana, disguised as a "byragee"¹ (or more probably as a "gosaien"), might find a safe asylum there. He continues that a jeweller came up from Delhi to value the jewels of Nana Sahib and the Begam Hazrat Mahal of Lucknow. Jang Bahadur bought jewels from the Nana's family estimated

¹ A bhairagi is an itinerant mendicant devotee, and no doubt reflects the story already referred to of the escape of Nana Sahib as an Atit.

to be worth between 50,000 and 60,000 rupees for 36,000 rupees; and from the Begam 40,000 rupees worth of jewels for 15,000 rupees. On the whole it may fairly be conceded that Jang Bahadur was at the same time offering to the refugees something that was of far greater value than the respective difference in these two sums. The jeweller complained that orders had been given forbidding any private person to buy the Nana's jewels. At the same time Jang Bahadur sent a message to say that the Nana's family were so poor that he was allowing them 300 rupees a month.

All this seems to be a different version from that which has already been given on the authority of the C.I.D. papers, though reconcilable. About this time a fakir arrived in Katmandu with a report of the presence of two important men at Muktinath, but Colonel Ramsay dissuaded the Indian Government from any further enquiry after Nana Sahib. It would be, he said, practically hopeless and likely to lead to the bitter resentment of the Darbar. As he was penning this letter, Jang Bahadur sent in to the Residency a curious message that the Nana's family had offered to buy the house of the ex-Rani of Lahore for 20,000 rupees, if Colonel Ramsay would guarantee the transaction. This, of course, was impossible. In a letter dated 14th August 1861, the Governor-General in Council approves of the cessation of all official enquiry from Katmandu. In replying about five weeks later, the Resident sums up the evidence in a letter that is worth some study. Colonel Ramsay thinks that there is fair presumptive evidence that Nana Sahib is still alive. He gives as his reasons that the Maharaja had repeatedly said that he was sure Nana Sahib would not live. This, reasonably or not, excited the suspicion of Colonel Ramsay. Then came a period of almost complete silence. Jang Bahadur treated the matter lightly at the time, "professing to have received only one short letter from one of their Sirdars in the Teraie . . . evidently intended to be laid before myself." When Bala Rao died, there were the most circumstantial explanations and reports, both before and after the event. In conversation with a Residency havildar, a fakir said that he had been in Nana Sahib's camp for some time after Bala Rao died. He had remained with him until after Jang Bahadur went down into the Tarai in the cold weather (15th November 1859). It will be remembered that the Nana's death was reported by Jang Bahadur as having taken place on the 24th September 1859). At Butwal Jang Bahadur called for all the "puggeree wallahs," or rebel leaders, that were in Nana Sahib's camp and the other "baghees" camps. Almost all went. Nana Sahib would not go, being afraid of treachery. He said, too, that Jang Bahadur had invited him to come to Nepal, had taken his money, and now refused to give him any assistance.

"Nana Sahib was in the Teraie at that time, and I saw him myself. When the 'puggeree wallahs' came eastwards to meet Jang Bahadur, the Nana Sahib went up into the hills with a number of his followers. I went

eastwards and have not seen him since. I do not know whether he is alive or dead."

But this was not all the evidence. Another curiously detailed and somewhat involved story was told by another fakir a few days later. He was a Panjabi who had come from the Panjab through the hills. He had entered Nepal far to the north, and on his way to Muktinath he passed the Nana's camp, and saw and spoke to him. This was at a small village called Doongagaon in the territory of the Lamjang Raja about one mile westward of the Bamganga. Below the village was the Khundi Khola, where there was a camp of three or four hundred people. The Raja (who lived there) had posted sentries to keep strangers away.¹

In one account the fakir, while bathing, was spoken to by a man dressed like a fakir with long hair plaited round his head. He was riding on an elephant, and he had fifteen or twenty followers with him, dirtily dressed and looking like fakirs. The newcomer gave the fakir ten East India Company's rupees, and the latter continues his story in these words: "I remained for several days at Doongagaon and had frequent talks with the villagers. The man I had seen was a great Maratha Raja who was continually engaged in religious ceremonies and performed more pooja than anyone they had ever seen, and he was very charitable. He continued his poojas for three-quarters of the day, and had a number of silver and gold utensils for the purpose." The Lamjang Raja sent food to his camp, where there were about three hundred sipahis all disguised as fakirs. Also three elephants and three small guns about three feet eight inches. The fakir explained the length of the gun by stretching out his left hand to the full and placing the other hand at his right shoulder.

The report goes on: "Several of these sipahis often sat with me and talked to me, and they told me that their master was a brother of Bala Rao . . . and that he greatly abused Jang Bahadur, who had deceived him, invited him into the Tarai, had afterwards taken away his Ranis and many lakhs of rupees and jewels into Nepal, and had left him to shift for himself. He had lost an immense amount of money in Indian Government funds and had been in communication with emissaries from Golab Singh's country since arriving at Doongagaon." Afterwards the fakir met many sipahis disguised as fakirs on the way to Muktinath, and one old man of the 43rd Regiment who came with him to Katmandu and interviewed Krishna Bahadur. The latter sent him back with money, but offered to take the havildar to Nana's place after the Dasahra.

There was some difficulty in getting into further touch with this man. He took up his abode at Bhim Sen's temple across the Vishnumati. Nana's wife entertained fakirs from this temple.² Krishna Bahadur forbade the fakirs to talk.

¹ Jang Bahadur, as Prime Minister of Nepal, was Maharaja of Lamjang.

² This corroborates the story told in the records of the Thagi and Dacoiti Department.

The havildar went to the twelve-yearly festival at Godavari. He there saw several fakirs who said that Nana Sahib was living in the hills in the direction stated by the Panjabi. After smoking ganja, about nine p.m., the fakirs spoke about Nana Sahib, praising him as the best man in India though he had committed a great sin in killing women and children. He was very charitable. He was in the hills between Muktinath and Kumaon.



BHIM SEN TEMPLE AT PATAN

Some of the fakirs said that the sipahis declared that Nana Sahib was exactly like a fakir. He had bound a large roll of hair made of the tail of a chowree cow (=yak) around his head. He was very charitable and very pious, but exceedingly despondent. He said he knew that he could not escape, as the British Government had offered a lakh to anyone who would give him up.

In reply to this letter of 22nd July 1861 E. C. Bayley reports (12th August 1861) that Lord Canning is anxious to have further confirmation,

and that Forsythe is being asked to send Ram Singh of Nurpur to go and find out if there were rebels at Muktinath. "It is not probable that Nana Sahib is in Nipal or anywhere on earth." He adds as a distinguishing personal mark of the Nana, "he has one great toe tremendously carved and slashed by Tresidder."

Colonel Ramsay writes on the 23rd November 1861 to H. M. Durand, officiating Foreign Secretary in India. He says that Jang Bahadur had not mentioned Nana Sahib's name to him for eighteen or twenty months, but he includes a most interesting statement of a professional visit paid to Jang Bahadur on 9th November by Dr. Oldfield, the Residency surgeon. Jang Bahadur seems to have opened the question of Nana Sahib as if there were something he wanted to have conveyed to the Indian Government. He began by exculpating Nana Sahib from the guilt of the massacre at Cawnpore, which was perhaps an unfortunate foundation for what he had to say afterwards. He put the blame for that upon Bala Rao and Jwala Prasad, and then—forgetting his previous assurances to the Indian Government—plunged into the question whether Nana Sahib and his brother were or were not still alive. He said there was no doubt of the death of Bala Rao. Colonel Sidhiman Singh had seen Bala Rao when at the point of death and unable to speak even a few words except with difficulty.

Sidhiman Singh had seen Nana Sahib at the same time. He was perfectly well and strong. Jang Bahadur went on to say that, although the Nana's death was reported to him, not a single Gurkha nor any person on whose veracity he could rely, had seen Nana Sahib when he was said to be ill nor had been present in his camp when he was said to have died, nor when his alleged obsequies had been performed. The only authority for his illness and death was the evidence of the Tharus, whom Jang Bahadur himself described as a degraded and ignorant people. These men stated that they had heard of his being ill and of his death, and that they had seen a corpse, which they were told was that of Nana Sahib, burned with the ordinary funeral ceremonies. Jang Bahadur remarked that it might not have been Nana Sahib's body but that of some other person burned *ad hoc*. "There is no other evidence of his death, and I admit that I have some doubt (*shubah*) in my mind whether he is really dead."

After this astonishing admission Jang Bahadur went on to say that if Nana Sahib were alive, he was not living either in Nepal or in Tibet. Where then was he? "Gone to the South (*Dakhan-ka gya*)."

If he were in Tibet—which Jang Bahadur denied, as Nana Sahib had not crossed the passes or been reported by the Nepalese agents in Tibet—the Tibetans would not give him up to the British (whose authority they did not recognize), but would give him up to Jang Bahadur.

Commenting upon this extraordinary interview, Colonel Ramsay notes that in his opinion Jang Bahadur had become afraid that the Indian

Government would discover Nana Sahib's existence for themselves, so he hedged.¹ It is to be noted that at the time of the alleged death, Jang Bahadur treated it as an established fact, and quoted as final the evidence of Sidhiman Singh, who was at Taragari, near Nana Sahib's camp, at the time, since he had attended the ladies of Nana Sahib's establishment to his own camp a short time before. Sidhiman Singh then said that the intelligence had been directly brought to him by messengers and that he had tested its truth.

Ram Singh and Lal Singh were sent by E. C. Bayley, secretary to Colonel H. M. Durand, the Indian Foreign Secretary, and reported on the 7th November 1864, but as neither of these men went outside the Katmandu Valley, their evidence as to Nana Sahib's existence is of less importance than the story they told of Jang Bahadur's treatment of his womenkind. After asserting that Nana Sahib had died at Bhuddour or Chillung-ghurree—when from 1,500 to 2,000 of his followers died with him (?)—Lal Singh continues: "Jang Bahadur behaves as though Nana Sahib's women"—who had been given shelter in Katmandu—"were his wives. He goes to their house every three or four days and sends for them. So nobody believes the Nana is still alive."² He has no news of Azimullah Khan, which in itself casts some doubt upon the thoroughness of his enquiries. He says that the widows of Bala Rao and Nana Rao get 500 rupees a month from Jang Bahadur, and two villages. Jang Bahadur, he says, borrowed their jewels on the occasion of his son's marriage; he did not return them but gave them some additional lands instead.³ He makes the interesting note that Ganesh and Baba, who brought the news of the Nana's death to the Ranis, are still with the latter. Nor is it without a touch of human interest that Jang Bahadur took five of the Ranis' best-looking servant girls and sent them five old ones in their place.

Ram Singh—who succeeded no better than his companion in getting outside the Valley—reports that food was distributed to Brahmans after the report of Nana Sahib's death. He was generally believed to be dead. "Who would take his wives and jewels if he weren't?"

Meanwhile, as has been seen, the mother and the two wives of Nana

¹ Taken in connection with the records of the Thagi and Dacoiti Department, the use of the phrase, "*Dakhan-ka gya*" shows that Jang Bahadur knew more than he admitted about the Nana's movements.

² There is no doubt that Kasi Bai remained for many years the mistress of Jang Bahadur, but it is not equally clear that she was only Jang Bahadur's mistress. A quarrel about her took place between Jang Bahadur, Bulwant Rao, and Narazon (probably Narayan?) Rao, which resulted in the expulsion of the latter and the actual imprisonment of Bulwant Rao. In this connection one of the strangest incidents of the whole story occurred. Kasi Bai managed to approach the late Duke of Edinburgh while he was shooting in the Nepal Tai, and asked that he would plead for Bulwant Rao's release.

³ This is evidently an inaccurate echo of the actual transaction.

Sahib settled down in a house just outside the precincts of Thapathali, Jang Bahadur's palace. It is unchanged to this day, a grim-looking edifice of the usual Nepalese plan, with a double guard-house at the door, a garden and well inside, and the house itself facing north and south to the left as one enters. The place lies low near the river Bagmati, and must often have been enveloped in river mists. Beyond it to the north and east were then open fields: it was, in fact, the last house in Katmandu to the east, and its seclusion as well as its propinquity to Thapathali was no doubt the reason why it had been selected by Jang Bahadur. To this day there is no means of access to it except through the grounds of Jang Bahadur's palace. On the way one passes the palace in which the refugee Begam of Lahore had been given a similar asylum by the Nepalese Government. At this moment the house presents a dreary and almost forbidding appearance, which may no doubt be in part the result of one's knowledge of its history. But no one can look without a touch of emotion upon those guardhouses wherein once a year, at the time of the Shurat mela in January or February, the religious mendicants from far and near were given a meal by Kasi Bai. It is to be noted that once a year on these occasions, she threw to the winds the restrictions of her Brahman caste, and personally superintended the distribution of the food to the pilgrims. Is it too much to suppose that on these occasions she managed to snatch a few moments' conversation with her husband until he died? ¹

A more important point is to be found among the records of the Thagi and Dacoiti Department. Three or four years after her arrival in Katmandu Kasi Bai sent a letter to her father in India, asking him to come up to Nepal and see her. He takes his time about complying with her request, but eventually does so in 1866, and with him apparently went Azimullah Khan, Nana's late secretary. Now in 1866 the belief that the infamous rebel was dead had become universal, so that Kasi's father, Sakharam, was a little upset when he noticed that his daughter was still wearing the *tika* or spot of red turmeric on her forehead, bangles on her wrists, and the *kajur* (antimony) adornment round her eyes. No Konkanasta widow could

¹ It was a house of misery. Think of the agony of Nana Sahib's child-wife—partly fear of being thrown back into the hands of the English, partly anxiety lest her very sustenance should be denied, partly terror lest Jang Bahadur should discover her husband's secret visits to her house, partly terror that Nana Sahib should discover her relations with Jang Bahadur. She lived in the midst of spies. She knew that both the English and the Nepalese noted her every movement. As if to increase the tragedy of the situation, the child never guessed that had she gone back to India she would have been treated like a princess by the English, because in 1857 she had threatened to kill herself if Nana Sahib took the life of the expectant English mother at Bithur. Many people in Katmandu recall Nana Sahib's widow. She was described when elderly as being long in the face, light in complexion, and rather inclined to corpulence. She built the temple that exists in the garden. It is dedicated to Nauayan.

wear these proofs of "coverture" for a moment. Bala Rao's widow, who was still living in the same house, had, of course, abjured them all. Azimullah Khan, on his return to India, also assured one Ganesh, a chowkidar at Cawnpore, that Nana Sahib was still alive and living under the protection of Jang Bahadur. Indeed, in Nepal there seems to have been very little concealment of the fact. Servants still watched over Nana's bed, *puja* was still made to Nana's silver chair and tulsi leaves strewn before it. Nor was this all. The nightly talk in the *kacheri* of the Begam's house next door was of the coming of the Russians, and the reinstatement of Nana upon the throne.

From this moment onwards it is difficult to trace with any certainty the actions or even the existence of Nana Sahib. The Indian Government maintained an open mind upon the subject, until at last any reasons that may have existed for the exemplary punishment of the scoundrel were lost in the realization that it was far better for all concerned that Nana Sahib should never appear again. Had he done so, he would have formed a rallying point for the disaffection that had been put an end to by the failure of the rebels. And though there may be some little interest in a reference to later reports of the continued existence of Nana Sahib, the anxiety of the Indian Government to trace him was converted into an earnest hope that no sign of him would ever again be found.

But in the records of the Thagi and Dacoiti Department there are certain curious references which are perhaps worth recording as corroborative evidence, should any further and more definite news be discovered. In 1864 our troops at Diwangiri on the Assam frontier heard that Nana Sahib was present with the Tongsa Penlop and the Bhutan army. Six years later a near relative of the Governor of Butwal—in which district the Nana is said to have died—testified from personal knowledge that he was still alive. Early in 1895 the definite news was received that on 5th March he would come to make his annual visit to his Rani "through Chitwan (? Chitlong) below Chandragiri." But in that year the Atit mendicants did not arrive till the latter days of April. They received clothing and other presents at the Rani's house, and by her arrangement started again westwards.

Another even more extraordinary piece of evidence exists. Nana Sahib, doubtless in his disguise as an Atit, is said from time to time to have attended the Kumbh mela at Allahabad. It is almost inconceivable that he should thus put his head into the noose, but it will be remembered that his existence among the inhospitable mountains and jungles of Nepal must have been almost unbearable to a man used to the last luxuries that India or Europe could afford. It is at any rate clear that, so late as 1885 the President of the Cow Protection Society testified that Nana Sahib had dined with him at the mela. Here we leave the last evidence of which any definite record

remains to-day. Of stories there are many, and though it will scarcely be believed, the rumour of the survival of Nana Sahib has still been heard in India within the last twelve years. Of these tales one was told me by a well-known Rajput sportsman some years ago. He told me that Nana Sahib, when between sixty and seventy years of age, was murdered in the Tarai by a man named Pulia Pamé, whose sister he had seduced some years before. He was born in or about 1830. This would suggest that he lived until the last decade of the nineteenth century.

The other story is very different and has a grim tragedy of its own. In 1895, at a place about thirty miles from Rajkot, an aged mendicant, who had been creating a disturbance in the road, was arrested, chiefly to protect him from the insults and ridicule of the children of the place. Next morning the head of the thana came with a curious story to the English police officer of the district. He said that the man was partially insane. He claimed to be Nana Sahib, and appealed to the protection of Jang Bahadur, who had of course died many years before. This would not have been taken seriously had it not been that in his sleep also he spoke of Népal, and claimed that if he had his rights he would be Peshwa. The police officer sent for the records of Nana Sahib's bodily marks, and he found that his prisoner possessed them, at least to some extent.¹ Naturally elated by his success, he telegraphed to the Government at Calcutta: "Have arrested Nana Sahib. Wire instructions." The reply came along cleared line, "Release at once." It was an unutterably wise decision, but a bitter disappointment to the young Englishman.

If there be any truth in this story, there is hardly a more desolate picture in history than that of Nana Sahib—old, discredited, half-witted, but still claiming the horrible honour of being himself—contemptuously set free by those whom he had so foully injured, to wander still along the roads, the laughing-stock of the children of his own people, vociferating his ancient claims to idle wayfarers who passed on to their own business with only a smile for the homeless and broken old man whose brain God had filled with illusion.

This perhaps is all we shall ever know of the later days of Nana Sahib.

¹ Nana is said to have been rather above middle height, with a round face and eyes peculiarly set. He was marked with smallpox, and some authorities say that he had a scar on his forehead. We have already seen that his toe bore the marks of a severe operation, and he may also have borne traces of another operation for varicocele. The man detained in 1895 seems to have had in addition a scar on his back, evidently caused by a lanced carbuncle.

CHAPTER X

THE VALLEY

"A lovelier spot than this the heart of man could scarce desire."

SIR HENRY LAWRENCE.

The Road to Katmandu

§ I

LONG after sundown last¹ night the two elephants carrying the heavier baggage moved away like ghosts from the rest-house in Raxaul, and by the light of a single lantern at the lean gates one watched their huge, grey-trousered bulk tread off along the north road that leads into Nepal, vanishing into the darkness after twenty soft footfalls. The black-purple blanket of the dark was broken only by the ragged flame of the spilers' camp across the stream, the fiery scatter of stars overhead, and the intermittent streaks of the fireflies among the hedges of hibiscus. Next morning at dawn one followed in the track of the elephants for some seven miles under the great avenue of rich dusty mangoes and sculptured pipals. At the little red bridge over the writhing Raxaul river India was left behind; the Empire had been exchanged for the Kingdom; ahead, to the very summits of the ice-clad Himalayas, more than a hundred miles away to the north, for two hundred miles to the right and three hundred miles to the left, lay Nepal.

It is with a curious sense of adventure that a stranger sets out for the first time upon this journey. For the rule about the presence of foreigners in Nepal is as the laws of the Medes and Persians; it is absolute and admits of no exception. No one is allowed to begin the journey to Katmandu unless the two Governments of Nepal and India agree to extend to him what is not merely a permission, but an invitation. Katmandu is determined that the disadvantages which seem inevitably to attend the presence of the hustling European with his material standards of development shall be avoided as much as possible by Nepal; and as Simla is entirely at one with Katmandu in this matter, the number of Western strangers who have ever visited the white stupas and golden roofs of Katmandu is fewer even than the small company of those who have crossed the Sacred Way that encircles Lhasa.

¹ This was written in May 1924.

For sheer beauty the road is worthy of the goal. Here and there the long green tapestry of the avenue is broken by the wall of a Nepalese country house overhung with flaming bougainvillea; and at the second milestone one's car echoes through the only street of Birganj, the frontier town. The road, like the surrounding Tarai, is level enough; though the car has to steer its quick way between the humps and long javeaux of dusty turf that curve and cross and join and divide the footworn channels of hardened sand that have served as the road to Bichako and the Valley since long before the Gurkhas captured Katmandu, perhaps before King Amshuvarman sat upon the throne of the Valley. Beneath the rich verdure of the avenue and between the passing trunks there is a vision to right and left of flat fields stretching out into the haze of a burning day in May, decked here and there with fringes of less furnished trees, or with the rich canopy of a mango tope, under the side of which are cuddled a few farmhouses and an almost dry pond. After about six miles the avenue is abandoned, and for another league or so a newly made grassy drive is banked up two or three feet above and across the parched Tarai. Then the avenue is re-entered, and another quarter of an hour brings one to Simra-basa, where the tail end of another new road opening out on the left promises well. But it promises only; there is but ballast and metal laid down here and another hour must be spent along the "lik" or cart road that runs beside the still unmade track. The car pushes its way between the unfinished road on one side and the sal forest on the other; should an ox-cart be seen floundering ahead of us the driver will jump off and urge his bewildered beasts a few yards into the thick jungle of undergrowth to let us go by.

We are now in the twelve-mile-wide strip of raw forest, which has not unjustly earned for the Tarai its famous reputation of being the unhealthiest region in all Asia. But there is nothing to betray its evil nature unless, perhaps, like the upas valley in Java, the extra luxuriance of its vegetation suggests a warm marshy soil and therewith, to a modern mind, mosquitoes. We brush past the encroaching emerald undergrowth, and from time to time scare from the track some herd of grazing buffaloes, who lumber away through the long grasses in a dense grey block, each wet muzzle upon his predecessor's quarter. In one clearance stands magnificently watching us a mighty ash-grey Brahman bull, black of snout and hump and fore-quarter, a picture in himself of India in Indian eyes—strength and sanctity and Shiva.

Throughout the hours of daylight the Tarai is safe enough.¹ It is the evening that man may not spend in this most beautiful park. Sundown in the Tarai has brought to an end more attempted raids into Nepal and has buried more political hopes than will ever be known. The English

¹ Dr. Oldfield repeatedly notes as unusual any safe passage of the *awal* district except during the hours of daylight.

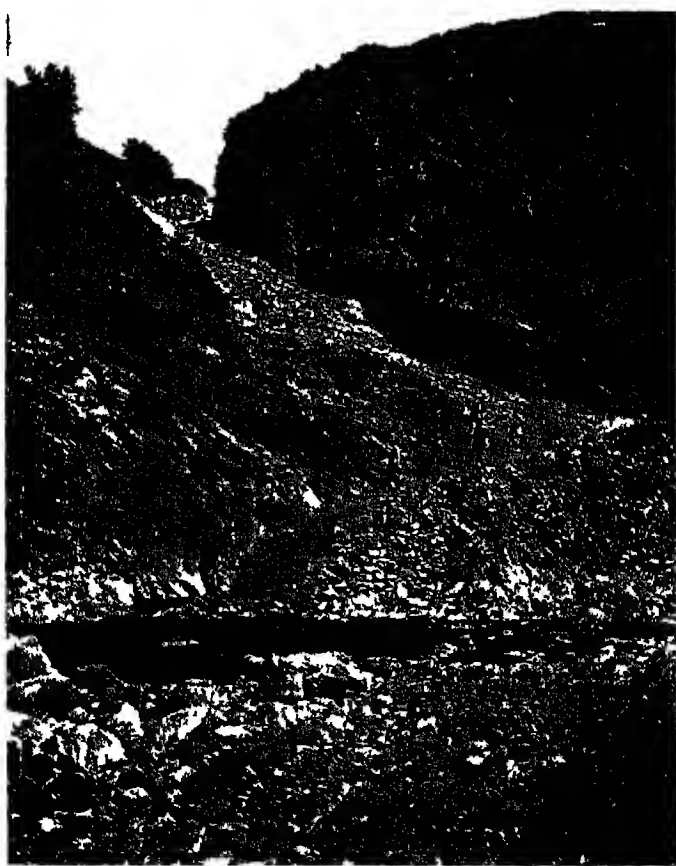
learned their lesson early, for within forty years of Plassey a column—moving to the help of hard-beset Nepal—withered and retreated before the miasma of this paradise. The English had been told of its dangers, but they had to learn by experience what all India had known and feared for centuries—and the lesson went home. To this day the depot at Gorakhpur is open only from 15th October to 31st March because of *awal*. The tribe of the Tharus alone—an indigenous race of the Tarai, fit only to act as carters—are immune, though the curious note is to be added that if they remove themselves elsewhere they are said to be as liable to malarial fever as others. Perhaps after all this zone is only affected by an unusually virulent form of the fever, but of its mortal effect there is no question. The records of Nepal and of the Indian Army are crowded with the names of its victims. This local pestilence is known far and wide as *awal*, a name which hums an undertone of death throughout the chronicles of Nepal. Between October and March its teeth are drawn, but for the rest of the year so serious is the danger that not only will the Legation surgeon in Katmandu warn travellers against the foolishness of spending a single night in this district, but the Maharaja will give him the most practical of all support by refusing to allow his guests any chance of committing this indiscretion. It is solely as His Highness's guests that the rare strangers make their way between Nepal and India, and from March to October no visitor is offered a halting-place for the night between Sisagarhi, high up in the Himalayan foothills, and Raxaul, where the Maharaja's responsibility ends.

§ 2

Bichako.—At the twenty-fourth mile Bichako, or Bichakori—the Nepalese have the pleasant habit of adding or lopping off a syllable from a name whenever it sounds better—stands athwart the road. It is a small village with a few brick houses, of which two are respectively the State bungalow and the powah or rest-house for the Nepalese. Beyond a narrow strip of cultivated land a dry, wide river-bed defines the foot of the first and farthest outpost of the distant silver Himalayas. All the morning their summits have been camouflaging themselves among the faint loitering white gauze that hides or reveals their icy silhouette against the blue of the sky. As the experiences of the late Everest expedition have taught us, that faint haze, so delicate and graceful among these argent heights, may, in fact, be just such a tempest of hail and snow as that in which Mallory and Irvine lost their lives—from here it seems only a slow and almost coy raising or lowering of a half-transparent veil.

At Bichako the alluvial plain of India has washed up against the backbone of the world—and can no more. From this moment the track begins to ascend, either beside the river-cut ravines, or across the watersheds

which divide them. For the first few miles the road is a mere cleared length of the river-bed itself. One follows the thin trodden line between the stones and sand-whorls with which the Churia river played all last year, and abandoned only when the dry season dammed up her tributary streams and forced her back into the devious and invisible underground channels



THE ROAD TO KATMANDU (NEAR MARKHU)

which are never dry. On either side the river cliffs rise three hundred feet and more, and wherever roothold is possible the jungle swarms up. But for the most part on the western river face the slope is too precipitous, and the gaunt grey rock is set like a wall.

Up through the debris of the river bed the narrow track threads its way, turns westward through a gorge that is to be spanned some day by a bridge, and arrives at last at Churia on the eastern bank. In other days

I have spent nights at both Bichako and Churia—not, as I need hardly say, during the hot weather—and for picturesque surroundings Churia can hold its own against any other bungalow south of the Himalayas. The rest-house lies scarcely fifty feet above the river, not far from the foot of the pass. “Forest upon forest hangs above its head, like cloud on cloud”—and behind it is the Churia ridge that played so important a part in the Nepal war of 1816. This stubborn under-feature of the northern massif is crossed only by this pass, or, rather, it was believed by both sides that this way was the only way, until Lieutenant Pickersgill discovered the torrent-bed of the Chukri Mukri a little to the west, up which Ochterlony successfully pushed a company of men with incredible labour and difficulty and thus outflanked the Nepalese. The track is now being reconstructed as a road fit for motor traffic, cut deep between precipitous scree of red sandstone. At the top of the Churia pass is an overhanging rock, beneath which a fakir has elaborated a little shrine, adorned with half a dozen tridents in honour of Shiva, god paramount of Nepal. In the middle is a sacred stone, duly anointed and powdered with red. The freedom of the pass and the fakir’s benediction are secured by a rupee, and the car runs easily down a fair road between another stretch of tangled woodland until Hetaura is reached.

§ 3

Makwanpur.—Five miles to the right of Churia, but almost unapproachable from this side is the hill of Makwanpur, which is chiefly known because it formed the objective of Ochterlony’s campaign of 1816, and often is referred to in his despatches and in subsequent notices of these operations. It is also described by Father Georgi, an Augustinian, who passed along this route on the way up from India in the middle of the eighteenth century. In his curious day-book, part of which deals with the route between Calcutta and Lhasa, he says that at “Maquampur” there is a thick forest twenty-eight miles wide and a hundred miles long from east to west. It is the home of elephants, rhinoceroses, tigers, bisons, and many other savage beasts. Some danger attended penetration into it. The worthy father’s palanquin was surrounded at night by bivouac fires, and its occupant got such sleep as he could while his attendants shouted, beat drums, and let off firearms to drive away the tigers. He records the superstitious use of charms and mascots by the “idolatrous” guides and porters, and proceeds to note that he encountered in the middle of the forest the ruins of the ancient town of “Scimangada”;¹ and he adds that a plan of the place is

¹ M. Lévi identifies Scimangada with Simraon, of which the ruins are still to be traced, and he is doubtless right; but—“gada” or “gara” being merely an addition signifying a fort—Sciman seems likely to be a recollection of Samanpur which lies seven or eight miles north-east of Simraon. Dr. Oldfield says that the ruins of Simraon are

engraved upon a stone in the Darbar Square of Bhatgaon, and that ancient coins were occasionally found which represented the same place apparently laid out in the form of a labyrinth. Father Georgi, noting with much accuracy the danger of the *awal* plague, says that the windows must be closed at night, and that the only chance of escaping the curse is to climb high enough upon the mountains to avoid the miasma that bathed their feet. He writes, however, that whatever precautions are taken and however quickly a man may seek a kindlier climate, he often carries with him the seeds of the *awal* which will not fail to attack him at a later date. He asserts that those who have once recovered from the disease are thenceforth immune—a statement which, however, is not corroborated by modern medical science.¹ Georgi probably followed the course of the Bagmati and makes some interesting notes upon the triple dynasties of the Valley. It is possible that his reference to Kakou, a village on a small tributary of the Bagmati, relates to Khokna.

Father Marc, who never traversed it himself, records from the stories of others the journey along the present main road from Raxaul and mentions Simra-basa, Bichako, Hetaura, and Makwanpur. Of this fortress he tells a strange tale. The invading army of one Kasim Ali Khan, a Mohammedan chief lost its way at Hetaura and lighting upon an eastern track through the forests arrived before Makwanpur. The soldiers tried to storm one of the three forts there, but were ignominiously defeated by the stone throwing of one man and two women, the sole occupants of the post. These hardy defenders were afterwards reinforced by ten other men, and the tiny company of eleven fell after sundown upon the outposts of the Moslems and killed ten thousand persons. Nor was this all. The army of "Casmalican," stampeded by this night attack, lost six thousand more over the precipices. On the following day it retreated at the threat of the little band that if the enemy did not withdraw at once, they would shut the passes and massacre them to a man. Father Marc states that the kingdom of Nepal began at Hetaura, and he gives a vivid account of the journey to Bhimphedi. Afterwards the good monk is perhaps influenced by the remembrance of his "Casmalican" story when he says that at Tamba khani—which he may have confused with Chandragiri not far away—ten men could easily keep away twenty thousand by throwing stones.

From Lady Day to Michaelmas there is nothing in this fever-haunted district of Hetaura but a few houses, deserted by all except a handful of

extensive, but it is said that they are almost unapproachable. They are buried in a thick jungle which it is considered sacrilegious to attempt to clear away. Simraon is to be found in the Bartholomew map of India.

¹ M. Lévi quotes the descriptions of the *awal* fever written by Father Desideri in 1722, and Father Marc della Tomba, who nearly died of it at Bettia in 1767.

carters and a native traveller or two—sojourners unwilling enough—who have no means of traversing in one day the width of the Tarai and have perforce to spend the night therein. But during the winter it is a well populated centre from which diverge four or five of the main routes of southern Nepal, and many temporary structures are then run up for the shelter of man and of a few favoured beasts. The name of this place, by the way, will illustrate three of the most frequently found difficulties of Nepalese nomenclature. It will be disguised in English books as Hetouda, Hetowara, Hitounda, Ytauda, Etunda, Etaura, Hetounda, or Ytaunda. Each of these spellings has some justification, first because the pronunciation of the last consonant is a perfect blend of an "r" and a "d"; secondly because the nasal sound preceding it is added or withheld, as it is in scores of Nepalese names, at the whim of the speaker; and thirdly because the aspirate is scarcely to be caught by a stranger.

From Hetaura the road runs through very fine wooded scenery on the left bank of the Rapti to Suparita, crossing on its way the stream of the Samari by a fine four-spanned steel bridge. At present the motor road ends at Suparita, though if necessary cars can be pushed through to Bhimphedi; one moves upwards by pony or on foot through river glades of increasing beauty to the iron bridge of Bhainsi-duhan and the exquisite valley that eventually flattens itself out into the plain of Bhimphedi. Here an hour of mercy is granted before the ascent of Sisagarhi begins. Bhimphedi is a pleasant little town strung out for a long way beside the track.¹ The first buildings that one reaches are the country residence of a Nepalese of high rank, the pool and fountain—which were reconstructed and beautified as part of the scheme with which in the Tarai the name of the present Maharaja's first wife will ever be gratefully associated—and the State rest-house, which is closed during the hot months of the year. For two or three hundred yards hence the route passes between small houses of timber, brick, and adobe, half of which expose for sale some of the necessities of life. It is not until one enters one of these shops that one encounters, perhaps with regret, the neatly labelled rolls of mercerized stuff that come from Manchester instead of the sturdy cloth of local manufacture. The road takes a sharp turn and in the middle of the village resumes its course beside a standpipe and a sacred enclosure in the middle of the street. Thence it descends through river-fields to the stream, and during the dry season the three-hundred-yards crossing is easy enough. On the other side

¹ The term is generally applied also to Dokaphedi. Dhursing, two miles down the road from Bhimphedi, is distinguished because it is the temporary terminal of the Katmandu ropeway. William Moorcroft, writing upon the road up through Bichako and Bhimphedi, notes that the latter place is so called from a figure of Bhim which is cut in stone on the right of the path as one goes up. He notes the copper mines at Tamba khani, and somewhat carelessly makes the distance from Bichako to Katmandu no less than 109 miles

is the remainder of Bhimphedi, with better built houses, the residence of the head man of the town, and the quarters in which the coolies spend the night. For this is the end of all carriage by pack animals; henceforth all portorage is undertaken by human beings. No elephant even can climb the pass. He is obliged to go round by a circuitous route to the west, and even so he can carry nothing but his own weight. No laden pony or mule can face the southern slope of the Sisagarhi pass.



THREE COOLIES RESTING ON THE WAY UP

§ 4

Sisagarhi.—From here for the next five miles the track—if track it may be called—first climbs up to Sisagarhi, and soon afterwards descends on the northern side to Khuh-khani. The first section is of such difficulty that—were it not that Chandragiri is still to be overcome—one would rank it as the worst path that leads the traveller to any civilized capital in the world. Up from Bhimphedi a kind of torrent bed is climbed at a gradient that varies between twenty-five and thirty-five degrees, that is, for each horizontal yard that is gained the traveller has to ascend about two feet. At times it is even steeper, but it is rather the slipping, unstable foothold of loose stones under foot than the gradient that makes the track difficult in the best of weather—and in really rainy weather, impassable. Two miles

of this disheartening work—if one goes over it in a chair, eight men are required to carry it—brings one up to the old fort, where the night is spent in cool, mosquito-less air over 6,000 feet above the Indian plains.

Next morning the march is resumed. After a short climb to the top of the pass the descent is begun into Khuli-khani by a somewhat better track. From Khuli-khani the way lies beside, and often within, the bed of the Markhu river; but there are few places of any difficulty, and a little beyond Markhu there are open downs for four or five miles until Chitlong is reached. This is a straggling village, composed more of fields than



PORTERAGE OF HEAVY GOODS TO KATMANDU

houses, attending the road for a mile and a quarter. The beauty of this last piece of cultivated land before the ascent of Chandragiri is remarkable, as also is the exquisite craftsmanship of the carved work of the powah or Nepalese rest-house of Chitlong. A stiff ascent from here takes one to the summit of Chandragiri, but it is not a very difficult climb, and would be possible for pack animals were it not for the descent on the north-eastern side. This is the crux of the entire route. The gradients vary from thirty to over forty-five degrees in steepness. Only one corner is actually over fifty degrees, but the points are not infrequent when one descends a yard for every yard one moves forward. From time to time one meets with massive stone stair-treads, but they are worn smooth and in nearly

all cases are broken and slanting at all angles ; often it is better to use the raw slide of rough rock embedded in the hill-side that drops beside them. But, bad though this way is, it is of almost indescribable beauty. Overhead the dark-leaved rhododendrons, muffed by orchids and ferns, follow some way down the track, and when they give place to other trees the same



THE ROAD TO KATMANDU

magnificent canopy, now of emerald greens shading into jade, shelters almost every furlong of the steep journey into Thankot. Occasional glimpses of the farther side of the ravine down which we are painfully lowering ourselves frame in a distant and entrancing view of the Valley of Katmandu, with its spires and domes, its red-roofed towns and villages, its careful cultivation, its avenues and woods, its great parade grounds, and its winding river-beds. All round this hundred and fifty square mile plot of intensive sanctity, cultivation, and national life rise the woody

mantles and the sharp peaks of the guardian hills. Below the foot of the north-eastern slope of Chandragiri is a stretch of verdure like an English park with cattle feeding on the short green smooth turf. At Thankot the declivity ends, and one is rapidly taken by a car over the eight or nine miles that intervene before the capital is reached.

The Valley.—This is no unfitting place in which to remark that within the confines of the Valley—between Chandragiri and Mahadeo Pokhri, twenty miles away to the east, and between Sheopuri and Phulchok to north and south—there is concentrated a world of varied interest, tradition, and beauty as may be found nowhere even among the history-coloured and majestic towns and ruins of India. There are three cities in the plain before us, each crowded with beautiful things;¹ there are four almost untouched Asokan stupas; there are palaces greater and more numerous than any Indian prince can boast; there are ponds of mystery and flowing pools of sheer delight rippling under the shadow of enormous trees; there is real green grass underfoot—and the Himalayan snows dominate the northern horizon with intolerable purity. Perhaps the greatest of all differences between Katmandu and its southern rivals—a difference that cannot fail to strike the most shallow observer—is that there are few ruins in the Valley. The great temples in India often lie deserted, mere goals of the antiquarian and the tourist; here they are living and venerated.

¹ The territory ruled over by the kings of the three cities of the plain varied at different times. The following is a rough estimate of their extent:

The principality of Patan included the whole of the Valley to the south of the Bagmati and Hanuman Khola. The chief towns in this district were Kirtipur, Chobar, Thankot, Pharping, Godavari, Harisiddhi, and many smaller townships in the south-western quarter.

The Prince of Katmandu ruled over the north and west of the Valley, including the far north-east. Sankhu, Changu Narayan, Hanigaon, Boddhnath, Swayambhunath, Jitpur, Nilkantha, Deo Patan, and Balaji.

Bhatgaon was thus restricted to an eastern triangle which included only the towns of Budi and Timi, but its jurisdiction went—as indeed was the case with the other two—far beyond the limits of the Valley, as far as the Dudh-kosi to the east and northwards to the Kuti Pass on the Tibetan frontier. No certain definition of the territory beyond the Valley can be attempted. We know that Gorkha was at one time within the sphere of Katmandu and that the southern limit of Patan was probably defined by the under-feature on the Himalayas which runs east and west above the Tarai and is surrounded at Sisaurahi. The inaccessibility of this range and the deadliness of the Tarai combined to prevent any serious invasion, or indeed, intercourse between the Nepalese and the inhabitants of the northern plains of India. Small as was the territory of the Prince of Bhatgaon, and uncertain as was his supremacy, there can be little doubt that Bhatgaon was the dominating power in the Valley for two centuries. Ever since the unfortunate division of his kingdom by Yaksha Malla until the Gurkha conquest, Bhatgaon was little more than *primus inter pares*. His leadership scarcely amounted to hegemony and was generally opposed by his cousins of Patan and Katmandu.

The continuity of life and faith has suffered from no religious intolerance for, strange though it may seem, Buddhism and Hinduism have here met and kissed each other. Especially is it to be remembered that no Moslem invader has ever set his foot in Nepal, no Christian missionary is allowed to undermine the belief of her inhabitants. In some ways—certainly in more ways than any other state or district in India itself can claim—Kathmandu remains to-day much as it was in the seventh century. Modern improvements have been introduced with a lavish hand and to-day electricity illuminates this quiet sanctuary of the life of an older day. But the Valley of Nepal at heart remains, and one trusts will always remain, unchanged and unchangeable.

It is worth while briefly to refer to the traditional origin of the Valley of Nepal. The Swayambhu Purana relates that formerly the Valley was a lake of circular form at Naga Vasa, full of deep water wherein countless water-fowl rejoiced. The king of it was Karkotak, king of the serpents. No Lotus grew upon its water. Many aeons ago Vipasya Buddha came from Vindumati Nagar and after due circumambulations repeated certain charms over a root of the Lotus and then threw it into the lake prophesying "When this Lotus shall flower Swayambhu¹ shall be revealed as a flame."² He then departed.

The next divine visitor, Sikhi Buddha, after prophesying that this shall become "A delightful abode to those who resort to it from all quarters to dwell in it, and a sweet place of sojourn for pilgrims and passengers," then entered Nirvana upon the bosom of the Naga Vasa.

The third Buddha to visit the lake was Visvabhu. He also prophesied the prosperity of the Valley as soon as a Boddhisatwa should cause the land to appear above the waters. This Boddhisatwa was no other than Manjusri who, assuming the form of Visvakarma, the Artificer of the Gods, went to Naga Vasa, and after due lustrations he walked round the lake. Satisfying himself the waters should be drained off towards the south, he struck the enclosing mountain with his sword. This is the famous Kotbar through which the Bagmati to this day drains the waters of the Valley. After protecting the root of the famous Lotus, on the now exposed plain, by a solid shrinc, he selected for his own residence the western half of the small hill,³ on the eastern half of which rises the great temple of Swayambhunath. This was the beginning of the valley home of the kings of Nepal. Immediately after the departure of Manjusri, some of his disciples built the stupa of Swayambhunath upon the summit of the Lotus Hill, in order

¹ Self-existent one.

² This is the origin of the eternal fire which is kept burning in the temple immediately behind the Swayambhu stupa, and at Boddhnath.

³ And built Patan as the seat of government of the traditional first king of Nepal, Dharmakar.



THE OLD STUPA, SWAYAMBHUNATH

that, together with Swayambhunath or the self-existent deity, the cult of Manjusri should be venerated. It is worth while to notice that Manjusri came from China, where he is still a most popular deity, and there are those who somewhat doubtfully connote the name Manju with that of the better known title of the later dynasty of Chinese Emperors, Manchu.

In due time the Buddha Krakuchhanda is said to have visited Nepal with many disciples, of whom some remained in the fertile little valley. This account of the traditions of divine visits is entered in the Nepalese record, and the visit of Kasyapa, the Buddha who immediately preceded Sakyamuni. The probability of a visit to the Valley by the historical Buddha Gautama has been referred to elsewhere, and it may be that the Emperor Asoka in erecting here the largest memorials to Gautama he set up in all his active life, and in setting up Rang Patan, was influenced by the reported statement of the Master, "In all the world are twenty-four Pithas, and of all these that of Nepal is the best." Buddha would not have made this statement had he not personally visited the Valley.

§ 5

Katmandu.—The first impression upon the mind of a visitor passing through the streets of the capital of the Valley for the first time is that nowhere else in the world is wood so exquisitely treated as an adjunct to architecture. Cairo has her "mashrabiya" work, but not for a moment can she hold a candle to the intricate strength and slowly disclosed detail of the house fronts of Katmandu or Patan or Bhatgaon or Kirtipur. The windows are imbedded in carving, and the lintel and the sill are often wantonly carried a yard or more outwards into the surface of the wall on either side simply to give larger scope to the worker in wood. Often a lintel is bracketed or a jamb buttressed by a mighty scroll or volute flush with the wall and as exquisitely carved as the lintel itself. The pillars are fluted with lotus moulding, and crowned with box capital half Ionic and half Hindu in character.

The roofs project in a manner that recalls China.¹ Tier above tier these gilded mantels rise to the finial that crowns the building. But nowhere in the length and breadth of China are the supports of her temple roofs so magnificently or so essentially a part of the architect's conception. Sometimes in domestic architecture there is merely a row of carved battens with a double curve as an emblematic projection symbolizing in little the lavish work that decorates the richer temples. Sometimes the infinitely detailed carving on these astonishing struts presents a pair of deities standing side by side, with every hair upon their heads suggested by the

¹ Some critics believe that China obtained the idea of the multi-roofed pagoda from Nepal. See Appendix XX.

carver's chisel, sometimes it is a many-armed divinity, sometimes a prancing sardul. Carved in deep relief upon a kind of predella below them there is often an allegorical scene, recognized as religious at once by the Nepalese, but often disconcerting in its realism to a visitor fresh from Europe. The street fronts of the four larger towns are bedecked with carvings that betray the private taste of the householder—a taste that runs to emblematic piety or superstitious use rather than conscious art. It would require the close examination of months to exhaust the symbolism that meets one at every corner. There is now a tendency to imitate the uninteresting stucco style which India has adopted from ourselves, and no doubt the time will come when, as elsewhere in the East, Nepal will come to rely less and less upon carved walls and shutters and exquisite tilted eaves and more and more upon prosaic brick and plaster and corrugated iron for her shelter from the wind and rain; there are signs already that such a fate is not long to be postponed. But the illustrations to this book show how beautiful the cities of Nepal are at this moment.

The present city of Katmandu, which lies in East longitude $85^{\circ} 19'$, and North latitude $27^{\circ} 43'$, is only the latest of a series of more or less evanescent capitals and towns which have flourished and died away at the junction of the two large rivers of the Valley¹. It is true that the building of the two greatest Buddhist shrines in Nepal—Swayambhunath and Boddhnath—is lost in the fog of time. But at least the former could scarcely have been built had there not been an active population where Katmandu now stands, nor would the still older site of "Purana Sambhu" have been chosen had there not been worshippers in the plain below. Moreover, as early as the third century before Christ, history records the existence of the small shrine-centred town of Deo Patan but a mile away to the north-east. Although the city of Patan was chosen by Asoka as a centre of great age and importance in 250 B.C., Katmandu was certainly then in existence and lost the honour of his memorials only because the tradition of some definite act of the Buddha at Patan recommended the sister city to the Emperor's notice and munificence. What that act was is unknown, but the setting up of the five great monuments in Patan is ample evidence of Asoka's belief that Buddha found a settlement of some kind here two hundred and seventy years before the coming of the Emperor.

Katmandu is a picturesque city in which a primitive beauty of con-

¹ The foundation of Katmandu is attributed to Gunakama deva, but it is admitted by the Chronicle itself that the place was already a resort of special sanctity. It was Gunakama who founded the annual festival of which the principal event was a vigorous stone-throwing by parties of boys. This at first is said to have been attended by the actual sacrifice of those taken prisoner by the other side. This had long been a mere matter of tradition when the jatra was abolished by Jang Bahadur as a result of an accident whereby the British Resident, Mr. Colvin, was struck by a stray stone.



THE ROYAL PALACE

struction and decoration contrasts with the significant efficiency of the parade grounds and with that military smartness which we have learned to associate with the word "Gurkha." Nor are the spaciousness and splendour and luxury of the many outlying modern palaces of Katmandu less remarkable after the narrow and congested streets of the capital

Nothing is more arresting than the first sight of the home of the Prime Minister, or the long white façade of the King's palace. The royal palace is of great magnificence. It lies to the right, at the end of the walled lane running towards the Legation from the Rani Pokhri,¹ and is surrounded



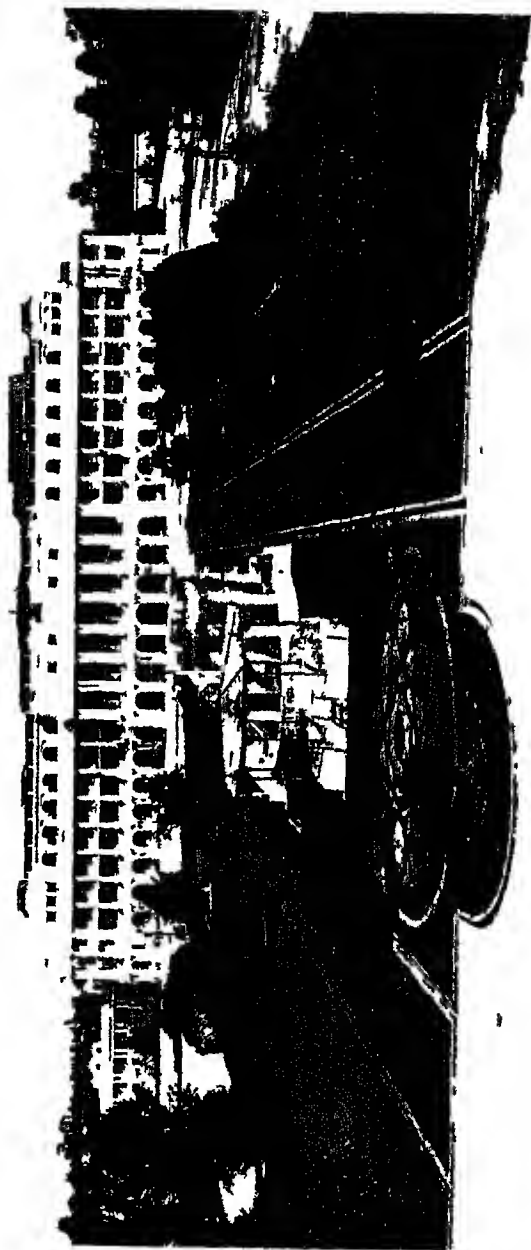
SINGHA DARBAR, MAIN GATE

not only with fine grounds but with water gardens, due to the passage through the grounds of the little stream Tukhucha.

The former palace is the centre, not merely of the government, but of the life of Nepal, and through the generosity of the present Maharaja it will, in future, become the permanent official home of all succeeding Prime Ministers. Under a great white gateway of French design the visitor passes through elaborately wrought iron gates, and skirts a long artificial pool, on either side of which trees of considerable size rise from well-kept lawns. The palace itself presents a vast façade, flanked by a colonnade masking an inner garden. The dominating feature of this front is the huge

¹ The Queen's tank, or Rani Pokhri, lies to the north of the Tundi Khel. It is a fine sheet of water in the centre of which is a small temple joined by a causeway to the western bank. It was in this pool that the ordeal by immersion used to take place

JHL SINGH'S DARBAR



entrance of three well-proportioned archways, between which rise double Corinthian columns. From a purely artistic point of view it is to be regretted that some effort had not been made to retain some, at least, of the characteristics of Nepalese architecture, but the necessity for enormous reception halls and suites of rooms devoted to ceremony made it difficult, no doubt, to adopt for this purpose a style which, though the most picturesque in Asia, has always hitherto been applied to very much smaller buildings. The illustration will give a good idea of the exterior. Within the building a wide staircase to the left leads to the main floor. Before entering the great hall there is confronting the visitor a curious picture.¹ Painted on a large panel, some twenty-five feet by five, an incident is here recorded which is not unworthy of a nephew of Jang Bahadur. This happened during a shikar of the Maharaja in 1906 after the proposed visit of the then Prince of Wales had been abandoned owing to an outbreak of cholera. Tigers in Nepal are generally reserved for such occasions by marking them down after a kill and encircling them with a ring of elephants, 200 to 250 in number. In the centre of the ring is a patch of jungle, chiefly deep grass with perhaps a few small forest trees. As soon as the guns have joined the ring, a dozen elephants are sent into this undergrowth in line in order to beat the tiger or tigers out in the direction of the Maharaja and his guests of honour. This is not as simple a matter as might be thought. The tiger is well aware of his danger, and will often lie in some depression among the tangled bents of the six-foot grass as motionless and as invisible as a hare on her form. Often it is not until he is almost trodden upon by one of the advancing elephants that he will betray himself. When this occurs there is often some confusion, the elephant's trumpeting of fright being taken up by his companions. The circle of elephants outside remains intact, but the line of beaters is broken, and the tiger may escape back, when the work has to be done all over again. But by this time the tiger is in a royal rage, and his belching roars shake the air. It was at such a moment that the elephant upon which Chandra Sham Sher was watching one of his son's skill with the rifle, terrified by a rhinoceros that had been ringed in, swerved suddenly, throwing the Prime Minister out of his howdah into the long grasses, only three or four yards away from two or three of the infuriated beasts. Two of the elephants made the best of their way to his rescue, but working through this long undergrowth is a slow matter, and the artist has caught the moment when the Prime Minister, unarmed and helpless but still with his characteristic smile, confronts a lurking brute, who, luckily, has not made up his mind quickly enough. The tigers were ridden off by the elephants, and a new mount provided for the Prime Minister, who continued to watch the progress of the shoot.

¹ The painter of this picture was Mr. F. T. Dawes.

The head of this staircase leads directly into the great hall of the palace. Most readers will experience a shock of surprise in seeing for the first time the illustration of this reception hall. Its rich decoration may seem to many too rich, but it is only right to say that there is not in all India a hall of such magnificence. One wonders how all these enormous mirrors, these statues, these chandeliers of branching crystal were brought over the mountain passes of Sisagarhi and Chandragiri. But unlimited human labour will achieve almost anything in the way of transport. The heaviest



THE DARBAR HALL, SINGHA DARBAR

pieces ever carried over are said to be the statues of the Prime Ministers on the Maidan. They weigh about four tons each. The Maharaja's throne is raised upon a dais at the farther end of the room. On each side of it stand busts of King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra. As one looks towards the throne from the entrance, wide French windows open upon the deep pillared verandah. At the extreme end to the right behind the throne is a door leading through another chamber into the Maharaja's private rooms, which are for the most part furnished in the European style; the pictures, however, in most cases record the divinities and legends of Hinduism. It is always said—though of course it was impossible for me to test the truth

of the assertion—that the quarters set apart for the ladies of the Maharaja's family are modelled upon those of Mortimer House, now Forbes House, in London.

The palace stretches back for an enormous distance, and one can well believe that, with two exceptions, all the sons of the Maharaja, with their wives and families, are easily accommodated in the building;¹ but with the exception of the two youngest all the sons of the Maharaja have been or are soon about to be provided with magnificent homes of their own. The only two, however, who make regular use of them are General Kaiser, who lives in a palace not far from the King's residence on the road out to the Legation, and General Singha. The exception in their case is probably due to the fact that each of them has married a daughter of the royal house.

Of the other modern palaces none is the equal of these two, but there are notable and imposing structures, occupied respectively by the Commander-in-Chief; by the Senior Commanding General; or by the sons of the Prime Minister.² Besides these is the palace built by Jang Bahadur, at Thapathali, with its satellite residences. Not the least interesting of the latter is the house in which Jang Bahadur allowed the fugitive wife of Nana Sahib to obtain shelter for the remainder of her long life. Whether Nana Sahib himself ever visited the place we shall never certainly know, but to this day there is something uncanny about this neglected house in which a forlorn and ageing woman spent fifty years with every recollection of her short and splendid married life in India clouded by the memory of the courtyard in Cawnpore and the well down which by her husband's order the English women prisoners, slaughtered or still living, were thrown with their children.

The palace for the Maharaja's son Mohan is on the road to Nilkantha; that of Krishna is on the opposite side of the road to Mohan's; the Baber Mahal is beside the Singha Darbar; and Kaiser's is in the lane opposite the royal palace.

The British Legation—as it is now called since the assumption of the title of Envoy by the Resident—requires no particular description. It replaces an edifice of brick and plaster of the "churchwarden" Gothic type. But it cannot be said that the new building is much improvement. It has been stated that a sanatorium in Switzerland must have been taken as a model for this unfortunate and undignified Legation, which is the less admirable because it contrasts so unhappily with the sumptuous homes of

¹ A glance at the map will show the vast extent which the Singha Darbar occupies. Its grounds are surrounded by a high brick wall which extends to the pool above which the suburb of Dillibazar is built and is broken by very few entrances.

² The Maharaja has been anxious to complete the building of his sons' residences because he intends to devise his own magnificent house, the Singha Darbar, to be used as the official residence of his successors, the Prime Ministers Marshal of Nepal.

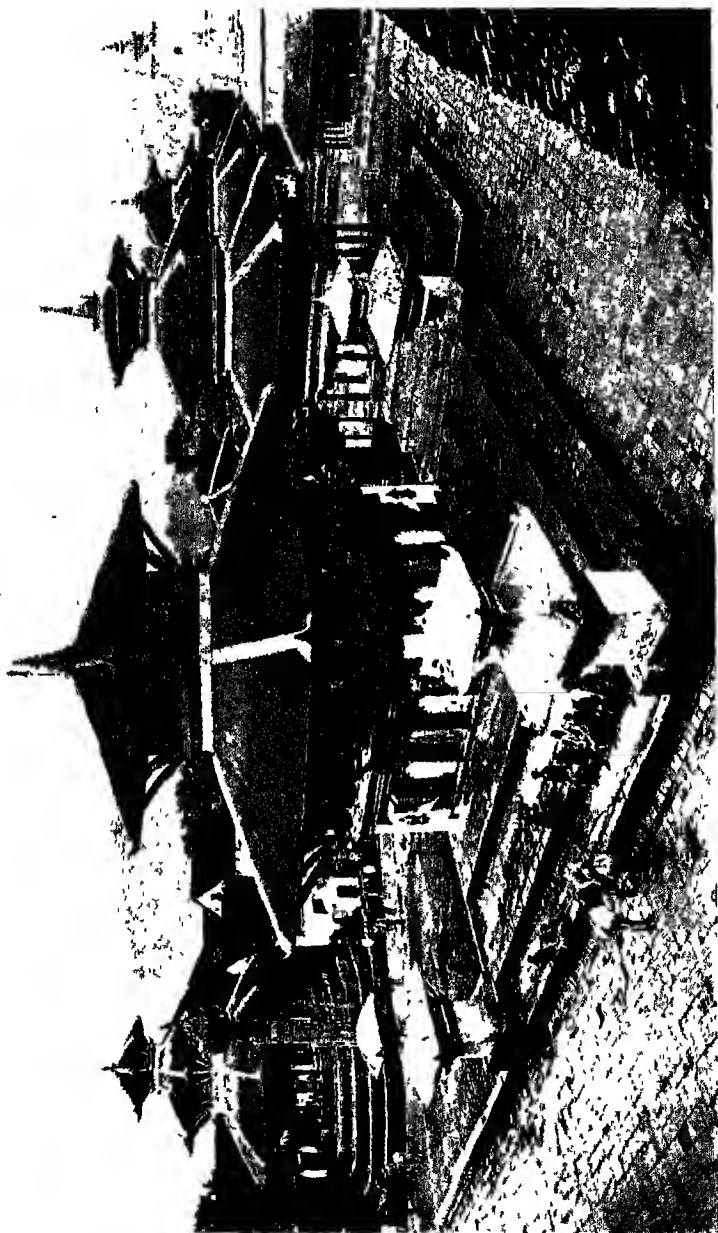
even the junior members of the Maharaja's family. The Legation compound comprises much more than the Legation and its grounds. Here are also the residences of the Legation surgeon, Lieutenant-Colonel J. B. Dalzell Hunter, a post office, and the lines for the Indian escort. There is also a small guest house.

In the older part of the city of Katmandu—as is the case in the other towns of the Valley—interest centres round the Darbar square. The old palace, part of which dates back to the days of the old Malla kings, is a handsome and interesting structure, flanked by, and even including,



THE BRITISH LEGATION

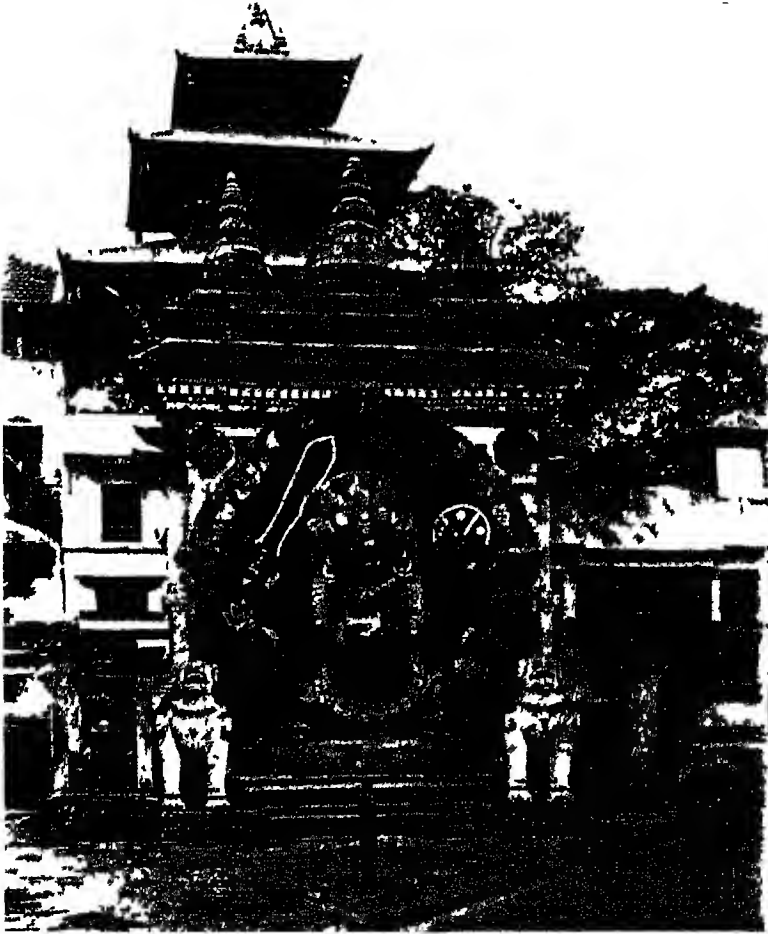
temples that for picturesqueness and colour combined have probably no superiors in Nepal. A reference to the photographs which illustrate this chapter will explain better than any detailed description the peculiarities of Nepalese architecture. The wealth of carving has already been noted, but even more remarkable at first sight is the vivid colour scheme which prevails more consistently and universally in Katmandu than in either of the other two cities. The painters, consciously or not, work for posterity. When first laid on the tints are for the most part crude primary colours, and this must have been so in all periods of Nepalese construction. In the older buildings these strong hues—like their fellows in China—have toned down into a harmony that is exquisitely set off by the full cardinal of the



DABBAR SQUARE, KATMANDU

brick and the rich browns of the weather-beaten and uncoloured wood-carvings which surround them.

The wanderings of a visitor through the streets are beguiled by a hundred quaint incidents. There one sees a man squatted in one of the



THE BLACK FIGURE OF KALA-BHAIRAB AT KATMANDU

shops sucking at a hookah, watching 150 quails shut up in a wicker cage with seventy-five compartments; they were fattening for the Indian market. Elsewhere a couple of men dyeing their stuffs in the much estimated water of the Vishnumati. One of the disappearing sights of Katmandu is that of the fashionable undergarments of the high-class ladies hung out to dry. It

is almost inconceivable, but these garments are often twenty feet in length with a leg at each end. In wear, the remainder of the material is bunched up between them.

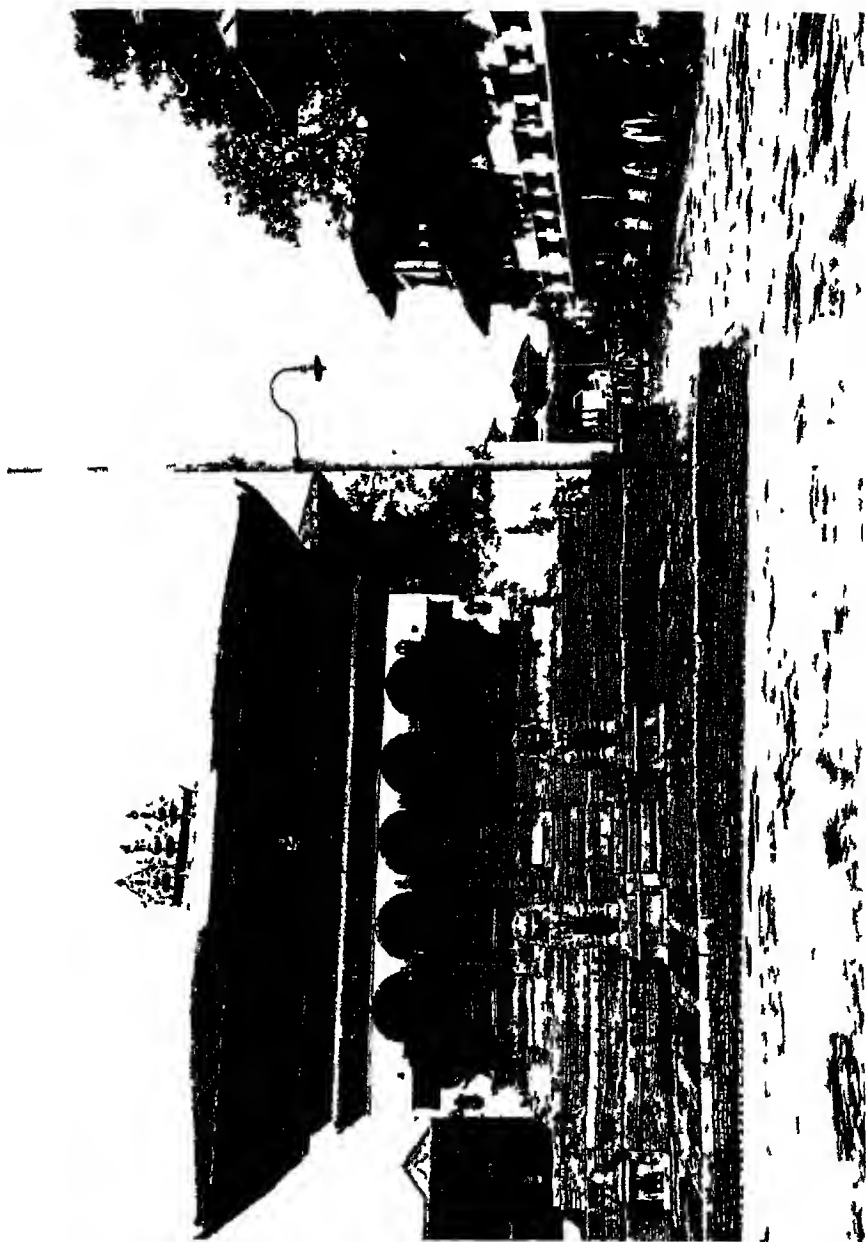
Forming two sides of the Darbar square is the old royal palace or Hanuman-Dhoka. The main gateway of the palace is guarded by the large figure of Hanuman, from which it takes its name; this is gaily painted and credited with much virtue by the people of Katmandu. Inside is the courtyard, of which the left side, as one enters, is taken up by the Hall of Public Audience. It is of the normal Nepalese type except the elephant-eared corners over the towers to the east. There is a gilt fish put up on a pole at the northern end of the reception room of the Mallas. The people of Katmandu, ever ready to see allusions in words, still believe that this fish (nya means both "fish" and "five") is to show that there are five crores of rupees buried by the last of the Malla kings below the palace floor. The reception room is supported by six fine double columns with convex flutings.¹ This royal pavilion along the left-hand side of the courtyard of the old royal palace in Katmandu is forty-five feet long and fifteen feet wide.² It dates from the period of the Malla architecture. The buildings at the south-east corner of the courtyard were put up by Prithwi Narayan. The drop-eared elephant roof to the east is Malla architecture. It is commonly believed in Katmandu that the carvings on the predellas of the brackets supporting roofs in Katmandu defend the place from lightning.

Of the temples of Katmandu—besides the shrines in the Darbar Square, nearly all of which are dedicated to Mahadeo³—the most important is Taleju, the royal shrine, on the steps of which the Gunpowder Plot of 1769 was laid. It is a fine building of five storeys said to have been erected by the demon Maya Bije from Ceylon in honour of Tulaja, overlooking the outer wall of the Kot where the massacre of 1846 took place, and is handsomely set off by the attendant trees. Mahankal on the Tundi Khel is the most remarkable of the religious centres of Katmandu, not for its beauty but in that both Hindus and Buddhists worship here the same image under different names. Whether the statue was originally intended for Shiva or for Avalokiteswara in his popular form as Padmapani is probably settled by the fact that out of the head emerges, in the familiar Mahayanic fashion, a small figurine that can hardly be other than Amitabha, of whom Avalokiteswara

¹ See legend of Hiranya Kasipu Rakshasha.

² In this hall is the only carefully drawn and authentic portrait of Prithwi Narayan that exists. See p. 60.

³ There are two exceptions. The large temple almost facing the polyglot inscription on the eastern wall is sacred to Guhyeshwari and Jagannath, and a small shrine in the south-west corner is dedicated to Indrani. The two shrines built into the fabric of the palace on the south are claimed by the 330,000,000 divinities and the Akalaya or concentrational worship of all. Immediately north of the figure and gate of Hanuman, within the palace wall, is the temple consecrated to the family deities of the royal house.



MAHADEO AND PARIATI AT WINDOW IN A TEMPLE AT KATMANDU

is an emanation. But the Hindus insist that the image is that of Shiva, and whatever its origin, it has become for them as real a representation of the national deity of Nepal as for Roman Catholics the toe-worn statue in St. Peter's is a figure of the first of the Apostles. Elsewhere are temples to Narayan, to Mahadeo and Parvati—the two divinities are represented at an upper window looking down upon the crowds of their favoured city—and to other gods, but though most of them would attract notice in another town, here they merely contribute their grace to a city in which one comes to expect graceful architecture as a matter of course. Jang Bahadur's solid temple to Jagannath near Thapathali is almost an anachronism.

Of Buddhist shrines there are naturally fewer because Katmandu was long as much inclined to Hindu worship as Patan was to Buddhism, and the difference is marked even in the present day. There are minor versions of the holier places outside, a model Machendranath and in Katisambhu a little Swayambhunath—which is in a bad state because any restorer traditionally comes to a speedy end;¹ and the Buddhmandal in the south of the city is worth a visit. The tall thin "round tower" two hundred feet in height, built as a whim by Bhim Sen Thapa during his administration, rises close to Jang Bahadur's statue beside the Tundi Khel. The shaft is not an object of beauty, but it scarcely deserves the contempt that has been heaped upon it, and as a fixed point for trigonometrical survey has been of great use to Nepalese engineers.

Kos Chandra Malla made the Tundi Khel, or great parade ground. Its name records the legend that the work was paid for by the gold which, by a miracle of digestion, replaced maggots in grain. The story is too fantastic to retell, but the maker of the plain, in the first lease of it—it was to an ogre—stipulated that three bricks were never to stand one on another upon the Khel. Except for the double plinth surrounding the famous tree, this condition has nearly been kept to this day.

The equestrian statues on the Tundi Khel are placed as follows:

North-east corner, Maharaja Rana Uday Singh; north-west corner, Maharaja Bir Sham Sher; west side, Dhir Sham Sher, Commander-in-Chief; and Maharaja Jang Bahadur, farther to the south, looking back towards Bhim Sen's shaft.

The empty pedestal, constructed of magnificent marbles that is waiting for Maharaja Chandra, is placed between those of his father, Dhir Sham Sher, to the south, and his brother, Bir Sham Sher, to the north.

¹ This may be compared with the tradition in Burma that only the three shrines of (1) Pegu, (2) the Arrakan pagoda outside Mandalay, and of course (3) the great Shway Dagon, confer merit upon their restorers and beautifiers. But Katisambhu contains some of the most exquisite carvings in the Valley.

§ 6

Swayambhunath—Outside Katmandu lie the two temples to which reference has already been made. *Boddhnath* lies among the maize fields



THE THREE COLOSSAL FIGURES OF BUDDHA AT SWAYAMBHUNATH

to the north-east of the city. *Swayambhunath* is built on the crest of a wooded hill, perhaps three hundred feet in height, to the west of Katmandu. The centre of each, a "garbh" or white hemisphere of brick surmounted by a square gilt "toran" and a "churamani" or conical canopy of gilt steps or rings, is in design the same as the four cardinal Asokan stupas round Patan. They were planned in imitation of those memorials which

may not have preceded the erection of these two holy centres by any great distance of time.

The temple on the saddle-back hill, a mile or so to the west of Katmandu, is the famous Swayambhunath, dedicated to the Self-existent One, the traditional origin of which has been told elsewhere. Asoka probably found a stupa in existence upon "Ancient Sambhu"—as the western spur of the hill is called,¹—and may have adopted its general design. Afterwards the obviously more dignified and visible site on the eastern promontory was chosen. Legend attributes the setting up of the existent stupa to one Gorades between two thousand and three thousand years ago; and as has been suggested, the entire hill, eastern and western spurs alike, was probably invested with sanctity before the days of Asoka or even of Buddha himself, in which case it would of course be of Brahmanic or animistic consecration. It seems a reasonable conjecture that Asoka, declining to use an already dedicated site, chose Patan for his memorials, the form and details of which were at a later date adopted by builders of the existing stupas both at Swayambhunath and Boddhnath. It has been estimated that these two great monuments may date from about 100 B.C., but M. Lévi suggests that there may be truth in the story that Boddhnath, the later of the two, was built by Mana deva about A.D. 496-512. There is not as yet sufficient material on which to form a judgment.

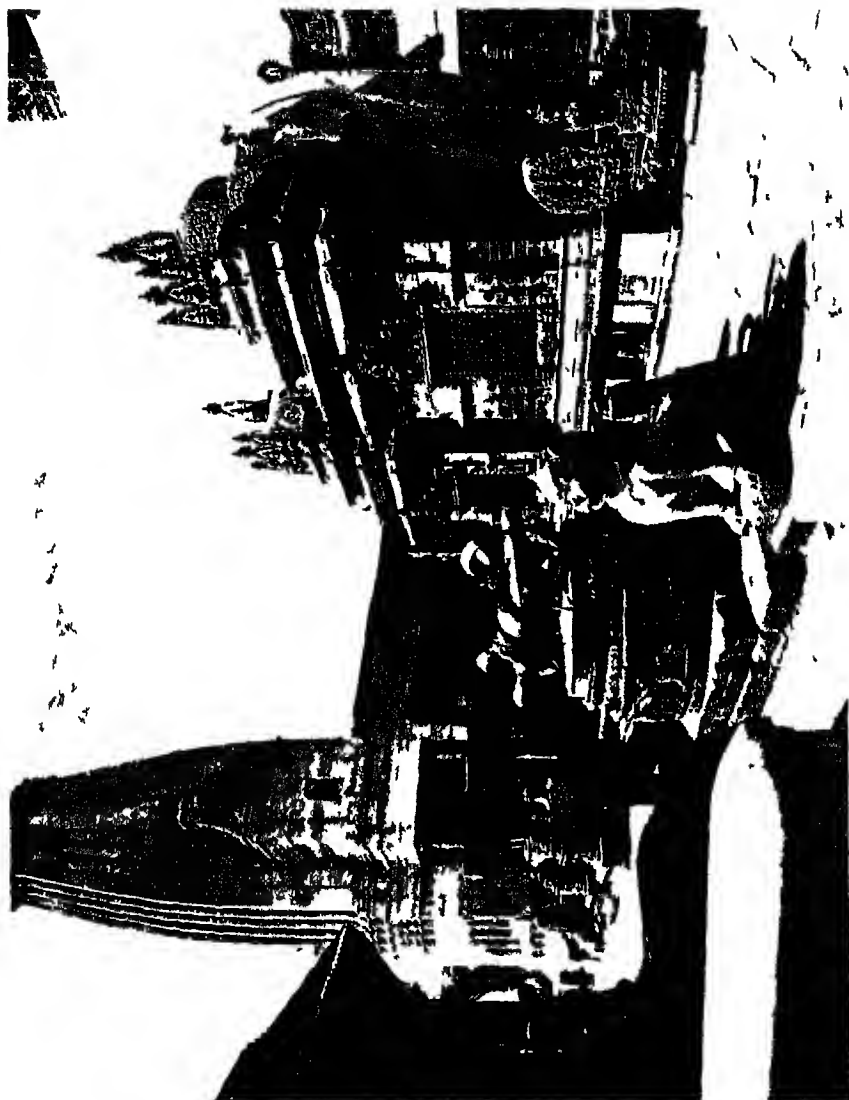
Up through the trees that cover the abrupt eastern side of this eminence an ever-steepening stone stairway leads to the plateau on the top. Here the central and most holy object is the high gold-crowned white hemisphere of the stupa.

When I first visited it in 1908 this noble shrine was in scarcely better condition than it was at the time that Oldfield drew it fifty years before.² The great garbh, or sphere, was covered with vegetation and much of its surface was decayed. In some ways Swayambhunath was in worse state than it was in Oldfield's day, as the narrow processional way round the base was falling in several places and the stone and wooden props that sustained it were tilted in all directions, and the two topmost arches of the great gilt Vajra, or Dorje, at the top of the steps had dropped off or been taken away. This must have occurred since Dr. Wright's day, as he gives the "double dorje" with all its eight spokes.³ To-day, however, all is in perfect order. The garbh is freed from all plant growth, and glows argent

¹ The name by which this western stupa—of which the tree-clad vestiges are still easily recognizable—is known, Manju Parbat, records its dedication to Manjusri, the especial saviour of the Valley. Worship is offered here by Hindus to Sarasvati, the wife of Vishnu—another illustration of the absence of any popular sense of antagonism between the two creeds. Oldfield is not correct in assuming that the existing chaitya is of any great antiquity; moreover, the diameter of the enclosure is but about fifteen yards, and the chaitya is not in the centre of it.

² *Sketches in Nipal*, vol. ii, p. 219.

³ *History of Nepal*, 1877, p. 23.



THE GREAT DORJI OF SWAYAMBHUNATH

against the azure sky, the processional way has been renewed, an iron framework between the smaller shrines offers to the pilgrim the merit of turning countless prayer wheels.¹ The Vajra has been restored and re-gilt, and the attendant sikras freed from their overgrowth glitter with snowy limewash. The toran, or square copper-covered erection upon the top of the garbh which supports the thirteen ringed finial or "hti," has been, with the finial itself, re-gilded, and the grave all-seeing eyes that keep watch over the plain of Katmandu have been repainted in grey and blue and black.

The stupa itself occupies the main part of this sacred compound. To the east, overlooking the plain, are the staircase and the golden Vajra on its circular stand or "dhatu-mandal" of greater age than itself, round the drum of which are cut in strong relief the symbols of the year-cycle in the Tibetan calendar. They encircle the stand in the following order, beginning with the panel to the left of the central or eastern panel facing the steps: Rat, Bull, Tiger, Hare or Jackal, Dragon, Serpent, Horse, Sheep, Monkey, Goose,² Pig. The last is carved upon the central panel facing the steps. Pratapa Malla covered the stand with an intricately engraved sheet of gilt copper diapered with representations of divinities and sacred emblems and utensils. The Vajra itself and two guardian lions were added by the same benefactor about 1645. On either side of the head of the stairs is a rest-shed or "mandapam," the tall sikras just referred to, which are dedicated to Tantric worship, and a stone-slung bell. Beside the white swelling mass of Swayambhunath there stands a single fine tree, the last survivor of several which in other days added a pleasant shade to the unsheltered stone and plaster of the shrine.

Round the main shrine is the usual series of large gilt figures set in stone iron-curtained shrines roofed and string-coursed with gilt copper, dedicated to the five Divine Buddhas. In a recess beneath each is a figure

¹ New sets of prayer wheels have been recently put up round the stupa of Swayambhunath. As will be seen by comparing the illustrations of this stupa with any earlier photographs or sketches, they form a very recent addition. The circumambulatory or sacred path, which sixteen years ago was actually next the stupa, a narrow track, uneven and badly supported by short, irregular pillars, has now been cut off from the ceremonial track by the great metal frames which hold the present prayer wheels. The new ceremonial track is much wider, and lies outside between the other shrines and these rows of prayer wheels. One result of this change has been to prevent strangers—who may not, of course, use this road—from getting a near view of some of the more interesting monuments which actually touch the edge of this sacred path. The fact is to be remembered in connection with the growing tendency in Nepal to exclude strangers. Less and less are those who profess neither the Buddhist nor the Hindu faith welcomed at the holier shrines.

² The need of some bird that could be equally well combined with the "earth" element as with "water" led to the adoption of the amphibious goose as the symbol; but it is called merely a "bird" when used for reckoning time.

of the beast or bird sacred to the Buddha, and at his left hand is a smaller shrine dedicated to his celestial consort. As usual, Vairochana, who should



SWAYAMBHUNATH FROM NORTH WEST CORNER

be hidden in the middle of the garbh, is given a place of honour at the right hand of Akshobya, Lord of the East, and Vairochana's consort, Vajradateswari, has therefore to sit on her husband's right. A multitude of smaller shrines, of guardian beasts, of chattras, of sacred pillars crowned with

images of divinities, peacocks or sarduls, of representations of the holy footmarks,¹ fill up the rest of the sacred compound. To the west of the stupa stands a building wherein, as at Boddhnath, Buddhist priests tend and keep alive for ever a sacred flame. Between it and the garbh are pillars crowned with exquisite gilt bronze-work, and between these again are a couple of statues of which the southern is perhaps the finest piece of work ever achieved by those masters of bronze modelling, the Newars. It represents Tara, and is a reminder to the Tibetan visitor of the Nepalese woman to whom he owes the introduction of Buddhism into his country in the seventh century. Not far from these statues and almost adjoining the Temple of the Flame, is the shrine of Sitala, the dreaded goddess of smallpox. This is comparatively new, as the original shrine was defiled, desecrated, and partly torn down by the mad king, Rana Bahadur Sah, in 1800. Sitala is, of course, a Hindu goddess, but Buddhists—just to make quite sure—bend the knee to her as reverently as do the followers of Vishnu or Shiva.

Dispersed about the area of this holy plot of ground are numerous other symbols which at first sight have as little to do with Buddhism as the shrine of Sitala. A large number of lingams are to be found, but most of them have either been camouflaged as chaityas or have been decorated with the four faces of the Divine Buddhas, thus, in a measure, salving the conscience of the Buddhist priests.² The whole story of the relation between Buddhism and Hinduism in Nepal has still to be told. Sir Charles Eliot has touched upon the matter in his work upon the two subjects,³ and in an appendix to this book⁴ there is traced an outline of the interwoven Mahayanic and Hindu influences which contribute many special features to Nepalese Buddhism.

I may add as a fact significant of the increasingly strict treatment of foreigners throughout Nepal, that while in 1908 I was permitted freely to approach both this stupa and that at Boddhnath, I was requested in 1924 to remove my boots before treading on the path of lustration which surrounds the stupa.

§ 7

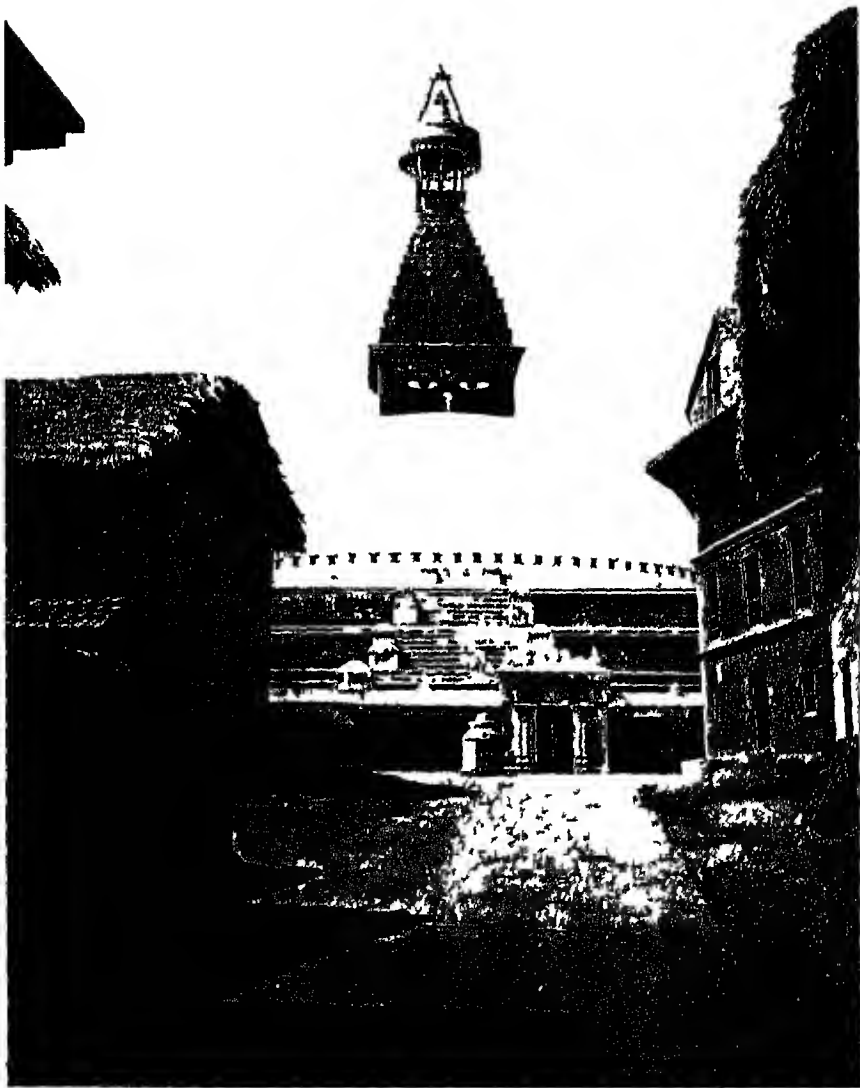
Boddhnath.—In the case of the Temple in the Plain, Boddhnath, which in general conception resembles Swayambhunath, terraces have been built

¹ The footmarks of Manjusri have an eye on the sole: those of Buddha are ensigned either with circles or the eight "happy emblems"; those of Vishnu bear an inscription.

² I do not pretend for a moment that later Buddhism is not permeated with sex. But the ceremonial worship of the conventional lingam-in-yoni—which from the Golden Temple at Benares to a red daubed stone under a village tree marks the service of Shiva—is not found in Tantric symbolism. The nearest approach to it is perhaps to be found at the north-eastern corner of the wall surrounding Norbuling, the Dalai Lama's country house just outside Lhasa.

³ *Hinduism and Buddhism*, 1923.

⁴ See vol. ii, Appendix XV.



BODDHNATH

round the central dome, and the toran has been heightened, not by concentric rings, but by a lofty step-pyramid of gilt copper, from below which, to all the cardinal points of the compass, as from the Temple on the Hills, there look out across the plains of the Valley two strangely arresting eyes. Scarcely less questioning is the " ? " which stands where the nose should be. Perhaps the Indian convention, which represented the upper eyelid of the Buddha with a droop at the centre, is responsible for a curious sense of detached contemplation or inquiry in the gaze of these great set pupils that would do credit to the Recording Angel. Round Boddhnath a square vihara, remotely resembling, and constructed for the same purpose as, an Oxford quadrangle, has been built. Here, in times of pilgrimage, the regular priests in attendance and other occupants, many of whom are skilled workers in silver, are reinforced by a crowd of devotees. In nearly all cases, these pilgrims come from Tibet, for the links between Lhasa and these two shrines near Katmandu are still strong, and for Northern Buddhists Boddhnath is the holiest shrine out of India.

As has just been said, the garbh or white central hemisphere is raised upon a series of rectangular terraces rather reminiscent of southern Buddhism, though it is doubtful whether these are of the same age as the garbh. In their present form they were almost certainly no part of the original structure, which probably stood as barely upon slightly rising ground as the northern and southern stupas of Patan. There is not much to remark in this simple and splendid building except that whenever the finial and the terraces were added care was taken to make both the one and the other of exactly the same height as the garbh itself.

At an early date the house in which fire is constantly maintained was built, and the piety of a later day added the vihara which encircles the stupa. The picture of it in Wright is difficult to follow. The native artist has turned the two uppermost of the square-cut terraces into curves—in which he has been followed by M. Lévi—and in other ways it is hard to follow in his sketch the lines of a perfectly simple structure. Its elementary shape is well given by Oldfield.¹ Three clearly defined square terraces, each with a central rectangular projection, are superimposed one upon another. From the uppermost and smallest rises the circle of the garbh set round its base with about eighty small square recesses, each containing a seated figure of Buddha. The low octagonal wall bearing prayer-wheels was probably built round the base about the end of Jang Bahadur's administration as it appears in Wright's picture. The prayer-wheel has never been popular in Nepal, and except in the hand of a Tibetan I have never seen one carried as part of the personal equipment of anyone. At the corners of the lowest terrace a plain massive chaitya acts, in appearance, as an artistic contre-fort to the swelling weight of the dome, and in the

¹ Vol. ii, p. 260.

"prayer-wheel wall" there has lately been erected a gateway in the European style with spiral pillars, Corinthian capitals, and a round arch filled by a blind fanlight. From a distance this plain and most dignified shrine dominates the Valley fields, and it is pleasant to know that it is now kept in perfect repair.

One of the legends of its building may be interesting to an ordinary reader as well as to a student of comparative folklore.¹ A little girl named Kang-ma, of supernatural birth, having stolen a few flowers in Indra's heaven, was rather rigorously punished by being reborn on earth as the daughter of a swineherd in the Valley. She married, and being left a widow with four children, she maintained herself and them as a gooségirl. Having accumulated much wealth in this unlikely way, she was seized with the desire to build a noble temple in honour of the Buddha Amitabha. So she went to the king and asked him for as much ground as a hide would cover. The king replied "Ja-rung," which is equivalent to "Can do." So, using the conventional trick, she cut the hide into thin strips and of them made a leathern cord. Stretching this out in the form of a square, she claimed and, in spite of local jealousy, was allowed, the land, whereon she began to build Boddhnath. It has several names.² That which contains the germ of this story is "Ja-rung k'a-sor"—the actual words of the king to her opponents, "I have said that she may." Her sons completed the stupa after her death and, rivalling the famous Shway Dagon in Rangoon, laid in the central chamber some relics of Kasyapa Buddha.

The tale ends curiously. Of Kang-ma's four sons one became the famous Buddhist scholar and teacher Thonmi Sambhota, who introduced the existing Tibetan alphabet into Tibet, and the second became Abbot of Samyas Monastery. An elephant, which had assisted in carrying the materials for the stupa, demurred at this point to the selfishness of his masters, and in answer to his prayer that he might destroy their labours, was reborn as the infamous apostate Lang-darma. But the blind son overheard the beast's jealous complaint and prayed that it might be given to him to put an end to the evil designs of the elephant. He was therefore reborn as the monk³ who slew Lang-darma. Of the youngest son we are not told the destiny.⁴

§ 8

Patan.—Besides the capital Katmandu there are, in the Valley of Nepal, two towns of considerable size and historic importance, Patan and

¹ Waddell's *Lamasism*.

² Khasa Chaitya and "Maguta" as well as the accepted "Boddhnath."

³ Lho-lun phel kyi rdo rje.

⁴ On the road back to the Singha Darbar from Boddhnath is "Chota Boddhnath." This is a small representation of the larger structure. It is clearly much later in date and presents no especial points of interest.

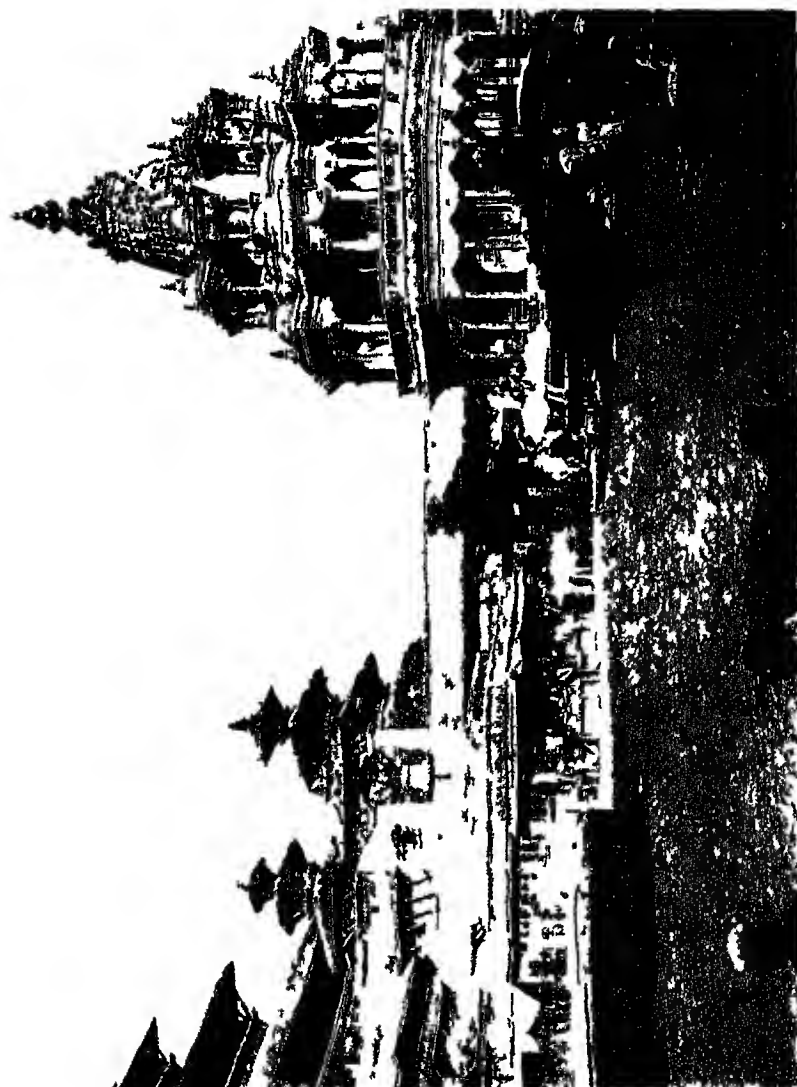


DARBAR SQUARE, PATAN

Bhatgaon. It is difficult to determine the relative age of the three cities, nor is it really necessary. So far as Katmandu and Patan are concerned, the land about the junction of the two chief rivers of the Valley, the Bagmati and the Vishnumati, has from time immemorial been held especially sacred both by Buddhists and Hindus, and the whole district is littered with major and minor shrines of great and unrecorded antiquity.¹ The rough triangle of land between Pashpati on the north, Ankhe Daha on the south, and Swayambhunath on the west is the natural centre of the Valley's life. It is true that other capitals—of which by far the most important was Bhatgaon—were built from time to time in this mountain-encircled plain, but from the earliest days this watersmeet beside which lie both Katmandu and Patan, has been the heart of the life and strife of Nepal.

Patan—which, by the way, is pronounced with the accent on the first syllable—though her royal independence is gone and her ancient pride is in the dust, though she is dwarfed by the rapid rise to power and wealth of her neighbour, Katmandu, remains a populous and busy centre; and though her streets are not so rich in colour as those of the capital, and her standard of living is more primitive—Patan needs no sympathy. The streets of Patan are like those of all cities of the Valley. They are narrow and as a rule have sharp turnings that impede the traffic, the more because the street sellers choose these corners in which to display their goods upon the ground. More has been done in Katmandu than elsewhere to improve the surface of the streets, but much remains to be done both there and in Patan and Bhatgaon in the areas that are not directly connected with the central Darbar Square. sorely needed sanitary work is being carried out, but it may be imagined that the expense of any proper system of drainage would be very great and must be spread over more than one generation. It will be remembered that when the new city of Delhi was planned by the Government of India, the necessity of draining old Delhi was recognized, but even now the work can only be said to have been begun there despite the large resources of the Indian Government. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that the pressing demand for modern improvements in all directions which has been dealt with by the present Maharaja, has left him scant leisure and little money for the regularization of the matter. But if they are not remarkable for their cleanliness it would be difficult to rival the streets of the Valley for a picturesqueness which is universal, and for scenes of real beauty which await one a dozen times in any traverse, and

¹ Katmandu is said to derive its present name from a large building in a corner of the Darbar Square, which, so the story runs, was constructed from the timber hewn from a single tree. If the tale be true, even the most magnificent of the "karao" trees that Nepal can show to-day would appear as a mere shrub compared with this father of the forest—and of the town.



A CORNI K IN DARPUR SQUARE, PAGAN, SHOWING PIG BELL

the overhung, irregular, exquisitely carved house fronts. The sudden openings that surround a fountain or a cluster of shrines, the court of yet another temple, and everywhere the charm of foliage which will not be denied its rights even in the most crowded thoroughfares. As an ensemble, the Darbar Square in Patan probably remains the most picturesque collection of buildings that has ever been set up in so small a space by the piety and the pride of Oriental man. There is not much indeed to choose between the three famous "squares" of the Valley. Each has its special charm, and whichever a traveller may chance to see first is likely to spoil him a little for those which he visits afterwards. But, after making due allowance for the colour of Katmandu and the gilded pride of Bhatgaon, that inconceivably picturesque square in the heart of Patan will probably leave the deepest and most lasting impression upon his memory. It has the dignity and the pathos which always tinge a city that has been once a capital; and in design and composition it is the noblest of the three.

Some strangers in the Valley seem to have been content to neglect other beauties and to return time after time to this exquisite maidan of stone and wood and brick and brass. M. Sylvain Lévi, whose devotion to historic Nepal and whose felicitous pen make him the friend of all who would understand what Nepal is and has been, suggests that the Darbar Square of Patan is a marvel beyond the power of words to tell. Yet his own phrases have been more quoted than those of any other. Patan, he writes, has never recovered from the rapacity and fanaticism of the Gurkhas, and Time is finishing the work of man. "But the last remains of a dying past still call forth visions of dazzling beauty. Who could describe this jewel, this Darbar place? Under the living brilliance of a sky that still leaves the eye undazzled, the royal palace spreads out its front, enriched by the hands of sculptors and carvers glorying in their work. Upon it the hues of gold and blue and red light up the darkened timber, and over against it in the centre, like the idle caprice of a great artist, is a world of almost luminous white stone, of pillars crowned by bronze statues, of light-filtering colonnades, and of fragile dream temples—guarded all by a company of fantastic beasts, chimeras, and griffins." Among these clustered temples, mighty bells and palace frontages of the Darbar Square one, that sacred to Radha Krishna, lifts its five storeys above the others as much by its unusual design as by its height. It is of the Mogul pattern and it is strongly reminiscent of the Panch Mahal at Fatehpur Sikri.

But this is not all. The sense of respect and sanctity that haunts an Englishman so strongly and yet so elusively as long as he is within the town, comes perhaps from another source than the temples of the Darbar Square. Two thousand years ago and more, the famous and pious Emperor Asoka, seeking one Buddhist site after another, came at last to Patan on his pilgrimage beneath the Himalayas. He came because the Master had

come before him to this remote valley, and it is tantalizing to remember that we shall perhaps never know what incident or legend in the Master's life it was that he desired to honour. But that he found the place he sought is manifest, for nowhere else in all his empire—and Nepal he counted as his own—did Asoka raise so notable a memorial of his pilgrimage as in Patan. First, in the heart of the town he set up a stupa—which has been adorned and reconstructed in later days out of all recognition¹—and then all round Patan at each of the four cardinal points, north and south, east and west, he built others—hemispherical mounds of plain unadorned brick. And



CENTRAL ASOKA STUPA, PATAN

these remain to this day almost in the state in which he left them, Ipi and Laghan, Teitos and Phulcha.² They are the challenge of one age to another,

¹ This stands opposite the southern side of the Darbari. Another traditional site of an Asokan monument is marked by a white modern chaitya beside a lotus-covered pool close to the western stupa. This, as well as a similarly traditional shrine in Kitipur, is known as "Chillandeo." I estimate the proportions to be as follows: The plinth is eight feet high, the garbh is another eight feet, and the upper structure representing the toran is two feet high. At each corner there is a minor reproduction of the central building. Some years ago this was in bad repair, and maidenhair fern was growing in abundance wherever roothold could be found upon it.

² *The Northern Stupa*.—The name of this is Zimpi (though it is generally known as Ipi) Taudu. This is surrounded by a vihara. It has a three-railed wooden gate above its "toran," and the state in which it is can be judged by the illustration on p. 13. Dipankara Buddha has been placed in Vairochana's shrine. There is a spring under this stupa, and

for deep within themselves they contain both relics and records—even if the latter be but some illuminating title upon an alabaster or crystal pot, and the former but tiny gold-foil blossoms or a squarely cut point of cornelian or sapphire honouring the little pinch within the pot of those most holy ashes from the pyre of Kusinara. Here might be found something to tell us what it was that Asoka found in Patan of such surpassing interest.¹

But throughout the ages these stupas have remained inviolate—and it is to be hoped that they will always so remain. For whatever treasures of archaeology might be found within them, there could be discovered nothing to justify so grave a desecration of the instincts of a people whose religion is the most vital element in their public and private life.²

These four guardian shrines round Patan are as remarkable as only simplicity carried to an extreme can make them. Like Karnak or Stonehenge, they enmesh the visitor to Patan with the sense of being on sacred ground—a sense that he will find it hard to shake off until he has turned his back upon this haunting sanctuary, and has either returned to the modernity of Katmandu, or has pursued his way farther to some other of the many hundreds of holy places within the Valley.

Among the other temples in Patan is that of Machendranath, which was built in 1408. Originally it was a purely Buddhist shrine dedicated to an

in wet weather water oozes from the south-western side. A similar spring is said to have existed under Swayambhunath, but it has been sealed up. Ipi Taudu has a close connection with the temple of Machendra in the south of Patan, and in the storerooms of the northern stupa are kept the decorations, the yoke, and wheels of the car which annually drags Machendra from his own home to a spot on a plain to the east of Patan, where he is regularly exhibited to his worshippers.

The Southern Stupa.—Laghan Taudu. This is by far the largest of these stupas. It is remarkable because there are three statues of Amitabha in his shrine on the west. The erection on the top of this stupa is wooden. It is a conspicuous object because it stands clear among the parade grounds immediately to the south of Patan, and distant from it only six or seven hundred yards. I made a note in 1908 that a small piece of railing near the Laghan stupa is quite unlike any other kind of stone I had seen in the Valley, and is strongly reminiscent of the typical double convex rails at Buddhagaya. I was not, however, able to discover it in 1924.

The Eastern Stupa.—This is written Traitas Taudu, but is pronounced “taitas.” It is half a mile outside the city of Patan in the country. It has a large erection of stone in the place of the wooden gate-like object of its northern brother. It is remarkable because the shrine of Vairocana is entirely detached, as may be seen on p. 16. It was repaired in 1846.

The Western Stupa.—This is Phulcha Taudu. This is the stupa which is always first seen by a visitor, as it stands beside the way leading up from the bridge over the Bagmati, at the entrance of the town itself. It has shelters built beside it, and a very large series of lotus-covered pools stretches out in front of it to the east.

¹ Before the final identification of Kasia with Kusinagara, it was held by some that Katmandu, with its persistent Malla connection, might have been the scene of the Mahaparanibbana.

² For the significance of these shrines see Appendix XV.

incarnation of Padmapani, but like so many others of the faith, it has been taken to the hearts of all the Nepalese, Buddhists and Hindus alike. In general construction it resembles that of the Hindu temples in the Valley.¹ Once a year the figure of the god is taken in his sky-piercing car,



TEMPLE OF MACHENDRA, PATAN

with its twenty-five foot beam, for a short journey to the south out of and back to the town, and it is then on an appointed day exhibited with no small ceremonial to the crowds that come in from all parts of the Valley. In old days no house in Patan was allowed to be taller than the spire of the

¹ Among other emblems supported on pillars of the forecourt or otherwise, one finds the elephant, the horse, the fish, the cobra, the bull, the saidul, and a group of deities.

car of Machendranath. The Machendra-jatra is the most popular of all the festivals, and for good reason.¹ The ritual takes place in the early days of June, and is believed by all to bring the rain upon which the life of the Valley depends. As to this, I can only tell my own experience. In 1924 the spring had been unusually dry and fierce, and there was sore need of water everywhere, not only to enable the ploughing and seeding to begin, but even to provide the necessary drinking water. One by one the wells had dried up, and, though this was in a sense a relief, as there was cholera in the Valley and some of the lost wells had been condemned, the consequent rush to the remaining water supplies carried with it no little danger of spreading the infection still farther. The burning surface of the ground was as hard as rock, and the lesser herbage was as dried seaweed under the merciless sun; not a mattock could be used. I had expressed some sympathy with the farmers, and the answer had been made quite simply that the festival of Machendranath would most certainly bring rain; "the moment the god is exhibited to his worshippers there will be rain—assuredly there would be rain." I hoped it might be so.

Now on the afternoon of 8th June 1924 the Maharaja sent a car to the Baber Mahal, which his son had lent to me, as he thought it might interest me to witness this, the greatest of all Nepalese annual festivals. It was once more a sunny day, and the dust raised by the thousands who came out from Katmandu to see the exhibition of the god hung in the hot still air and from a long distance marked out the course of the roads. There was a little delay, and the heavens may have been preparing their coup while I was watching with keen interest the presentation to the dense crowds of the coat worn by the god—a regular preliminary to the presentation of the figure of Machendranath himself. The Maharaja motored up in time to be present when the curious red-wrapped figure was taken from the inside of the car and shown to the scething multitude. A spot of rain struck me at this moment, and in twenty seconds we were hastily putting up the top of the car against a driving downpour of huge drops that

¹ Machendra is the most notable deity of Nepal and, like the others, is worshipped by followers of both creeds. The god himself is a roughly hewn block of wood of a dark red colour. Once a year, on the approach of the rainy months, he is carried in a car (of which the upper structure, raised to a height of some sixty feet, is renewed annually) to a shrine on the banks of the Bagmati. He is then taken to the maidan to which reference has been made, and there first his shirt and then the red log itself is exhibited to enthusiastic crowds. His temple may be seen on p. 211. It is placed in a compound in which are a few houses, a stretch of turf surrounding the temple, and a couple of gateways. The various objects hung up under the projecting eaves are the thank-offerings made by those who have been ill, and who attribute their recovery to their prayers to Machendranath. For Machendra-jatra see Oldfield, vol. ii, pp. 327 and 334. The car of Machendra is red because he is a reincarnation of Padmapani; see Appendix XV.



MULCHOK, PATAN

continued for nearly an hour, and was repeated twice or thrice before nightfall. So all went happily to sleep that night. In that which seemed to me uncannily like magic the folk of the Valley saw only the normal kindness of Machendranath. The car was shortly afterwards pulled to Bagnati. Four or five days later it returned to Patan and was there taken to pieces. The wheels, the pole, and the lower part of the superstructure were stored in the vihara surrounding Ipi stupa in Patan, where it will remain until it is needed next year.

Mahabuddha.—To anyone who knows Buddhgaya in Bihar, the temple of Mahabuddha will be of curious interest. It is buried in a small vihara,¹ the walls of which press so closely upon the base of the shrine that it is difficult from any point to obtain a good view of the building. It is a reproduction of the famous temple at Buddhgaya which commemorates the exact spot where Gautama became the Buddha. Similar copies, all more or less fanciful, exist outside Peking (the Wu-t'a-sze) and elsewhere in China and at Pagan. In most cases there are definite legends connected with their foundation. The shrine in Patan was built by one Abhaya Raja and his descendants. After long sojourn and worship at the Place of Enlightenment, he was assured that his devotions were accepted and was bidden to return home. He is said to have brought back with him a model of the temple of Buddhgaya,² but the resemblance is not close enough to suggest that Abhaya relied upon any artificial aid to his memory when he designed the copy at Patan. Making every allowance for the mistakes that may have been made when the Indian original was restored in the last century, the proportions of the different parts of the Nepalese building are quite different from those of the structure of which it is a copy. It is, however, a much closer imitation than is the Wu-t'a-sze (A.D. 473), where the four pinnacles are as disproportionately large compared with the central sikra as in Patan they are disproportionately small. The architecture of this temple is pure Hindu in character, and were it not for its cramped position, which makes it as impossible to see it from afar as from near, would be one of the most remarkable buildings in Patan. It will be observed that the curve of the central sikra is reminiscent of an Indian style later than that of Buddhgaya, and the disproportionate height of the plinth from which it rises throws the whole structure out of sympathy with its original. The carving is exuberant and recalls South Indian decoration.

¹ This vihara gives shelter to an unusually erudite company of pandits.

² The Vamshavali says that the builders of Mahabuddha temple in Patan took home with them from Buddhgaya a "model Buddha image." This probably means a model of the temple



CORNER OF DARBAR SQUARE, BHATNAGAR

§ 9

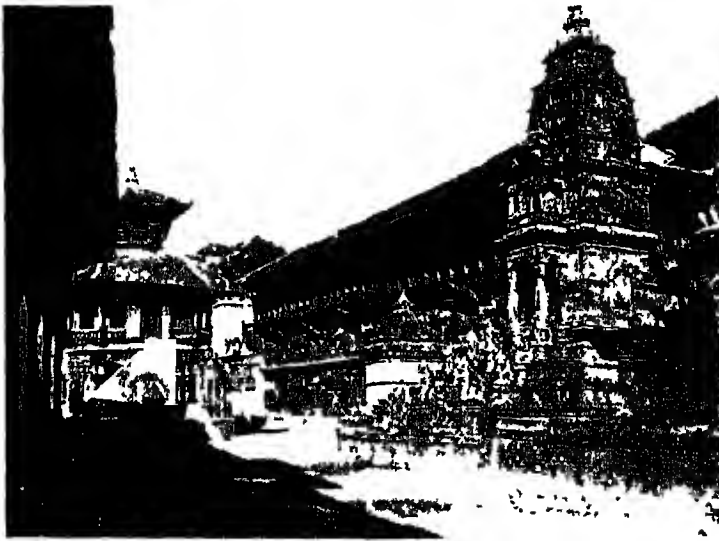
Bhatgaon —On the road to Bhatgaon one passes Them, where there is a large factory of red glazed and unglazed pots which supplies the whole Valley. Bhatgaon it is easier to treat merely as a thing of beauty, for there is



CORNER OF DARBAR SQUARE, BHATGAON

less of the traditional sanctity within her which, in the case of Patan, Swayambhunath, and Pashpati, is recognized far and wide beyond the limits of the shrine, and her position, some eight miles east of Katmandu, leaves her somewhat outside the sacred hollow of the plain. But her Darbar Square is of those places of which the sight only will convince, for it contains a group of marvels hardly less splendid than that of the great

square of Patan.¹ Of them the most beautiful and best known is the golden door of the palace. As a work of art this is perhaps the most exquisitely designed and finished piece of gilded metalwork in all Asia. There is nothing in Lhasa or in Peking that can rival this piece of superb craftsmanship. Not the least of its charms is the casual way in which this triumph of the mould and the chisel is set into a plain, scanty section of wall that in no way acts as the frame that one would expect to find. To right and to left and in front of it are the walls of temples and palaces wonderfully enriched with moulding, knop, and trellis, with deep-set carvings, with strutted roof imposed upon strutted roof, with plinths and pillars, and with



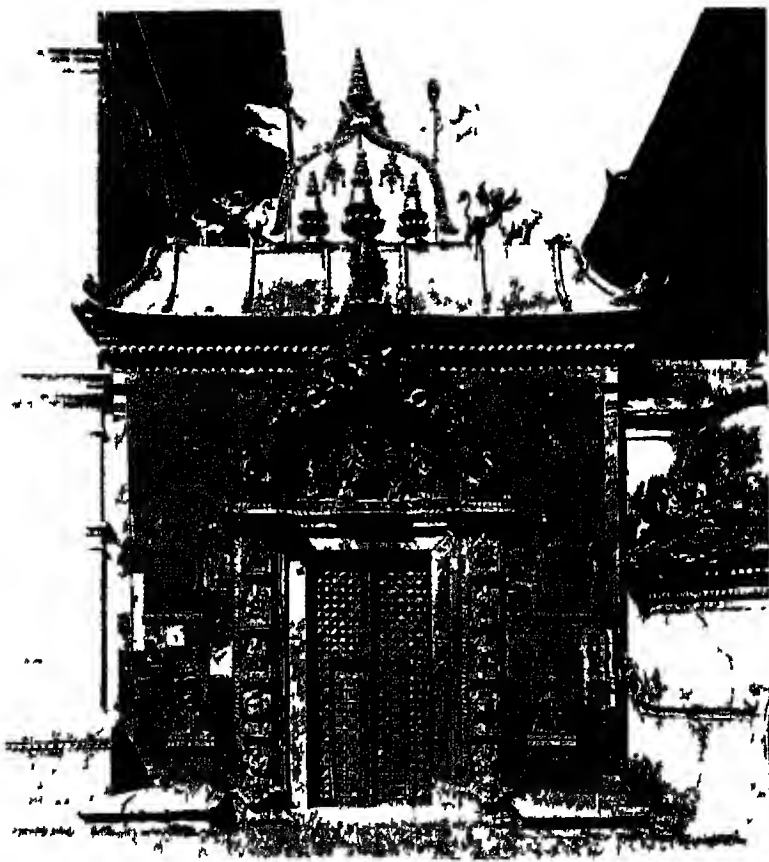
TEMPLE AT BHATGAON

windows of characteristically elongated lintels and sills, laden with incised pattern and arabesque; but on this little wall scarcely bigger than the doorway itself, there is nothing except the torn remains of two or three proclamations. Next it, as incongruously placed as itself, projects an insignificant shrine of brick and plaster, without any attempt at decoration, old, worn, and dirty—but a foil beyond price to the intricate carved and moulded copper work of that golden portal, the centre and pride of Bhatgaon.²

¹ The bell at Bhatgaon in the Daibar Square is five feet in diameter.

² Ferguson, the great authority upon Indian and Eastern architecture, makes the astonishing remark that the ornamentation on the Golden Door resembles that of the Nankow Gate thirty-five miles north-west of Peking. Except that the commonly found garudas and nagas are also to be seen there, no resemblance exists.

Elsewhere in the city are many beautiful things. Of them the long wooden façade of the royal palace, a triumph of ornamental grating, bracket, strut, cave, and sill, and the "five-roofed temple" are perhaps the most conspicuous. The latter—which, by the way, is dedicated to an

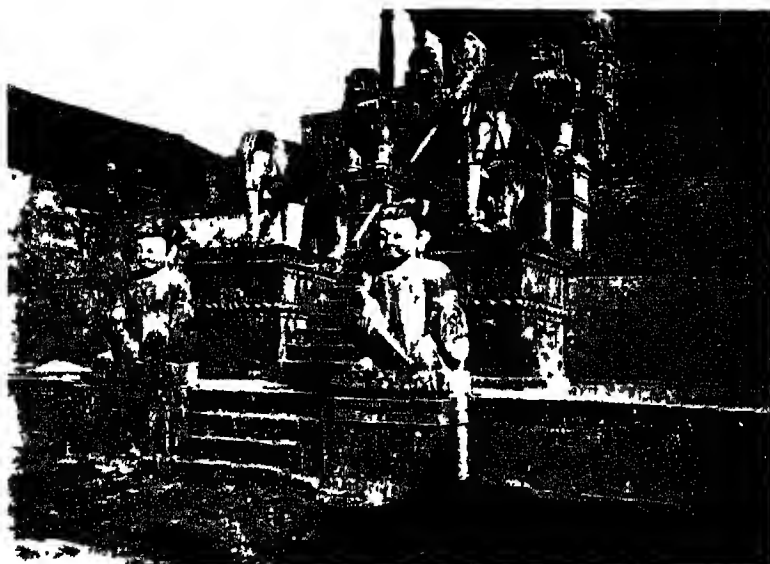


THE GOLDEN DOOR AT BHATGAON

unknown god—is a fine example of the pagoda work of Nepal, and famous far beyond it as the best example in the country of a terraced plinth of which the stairway is attended on either side by symbolic figures. In this case, there being four terraces and the lowest figures being set upon the ground, there are five pairs. These lowest figures are of two famous heroes who are locally believed to be Jaya Malla and Phatta, two champions of a Bhatgaon Raja, each of whom is said to have had the strength of ten

men.¹ Above them are two elephants which were estimated to be ten times as strong as Jaya Malla and Phatta. The third pair are lions reputedly ten times as strong as the elephants. The fourth are sarduls or dragons, ten times as strong as the lions. The last and mightiest pair of all are the two "Tiger" and "Lion" goddesses Baghini and Singhini, whose strength is supernatural.

But it is the streets of Bhatgaon which form the charm of the place. A little apart from the main traffic ways of the Valley, and busy with its own concerns, Bhatgaon has retained an individuality and an aloofness that

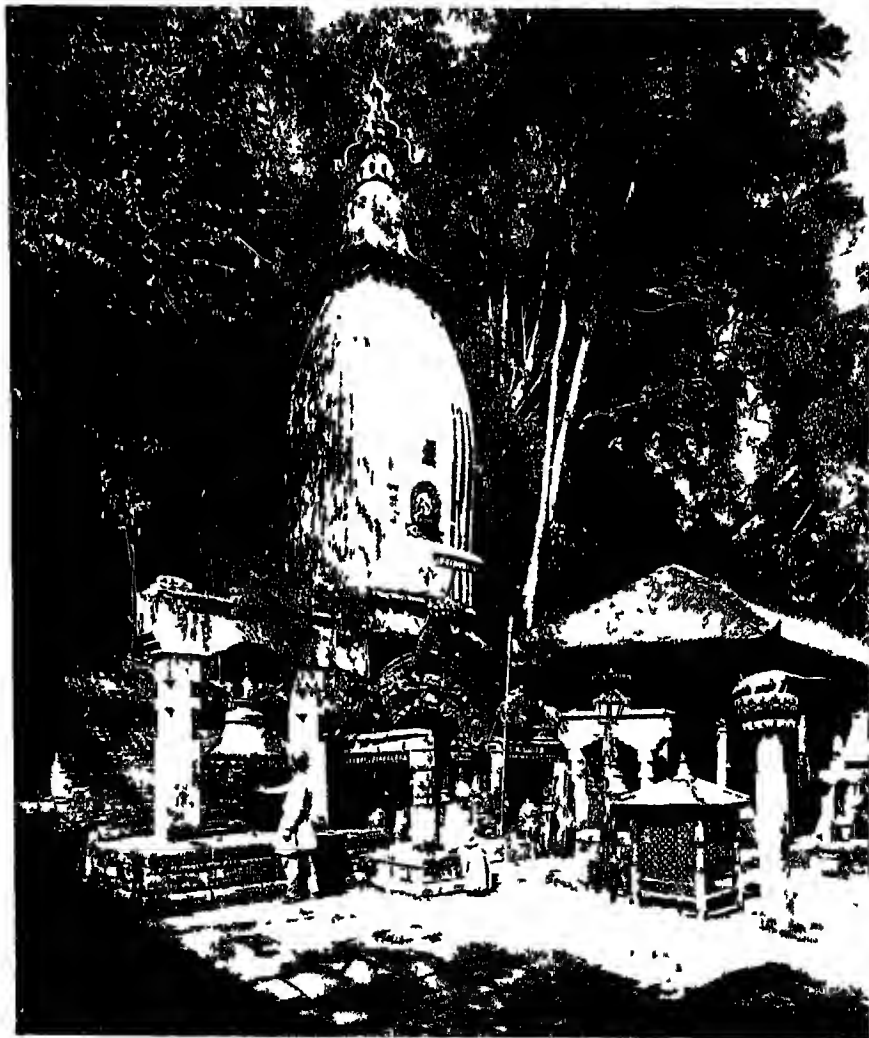


STEPS OF NYATPOLA, BHATGAON

other towns in the Valley have to some extent lost in the ever-growing influence of Katmandu—and naturally none has lost it more than Katmandu herself. Perhaps Bhatgaon-the-Newar still sits apart in a sheet of repentance for her king's ill-advised appeal to Gorkha in 1768 for help against his

¹ This is a curious example of the willingness of the Malla kings to add lustre to their family name even at the cost of truth. The history of these famous warriors is perfectly well known. They were respectively Jaimal of Bednor and his kinsman Patta of Kailwa. During the siege of Chitor by Akbar in 1568 Jaimal, though only sixteen years of age, commanded the besiegers, and with Patta carried on the gallant but hopeless struggle until 8,000 Rajputs had lost their lives, and Jaimal himself had been killed by the Emperor Akbar in person. Their figures are frequently to be seen beside the main portal of Rajput forts. It is remarkable also that they are to be found as guardians of the south-western gate of the greatest of Mogul palace forts—Delhi itself.

own kith and kin in Katmandu and Patan, for it sounded the knell of the Malla dynasties. It is commonly said that in her daily life Bhatgaon resembles the outlying and, to Europeans, unknown parts of Nepal more



TEMPLE OF SURJI-BINAYAKA GANESHA, BHATGAON

than does any other town in the Valley. She rests upon the fold above her curving river cliff, adjusting herself to its couch-like shape, and cultivates her well-watered fields below, remote—willingly remote—from her neighbours, and one of the most picturesque towns in the East.

Changu Narayan.—For Bhatgaon, though it long remained an appanage of the lordship of Katmandu, the shrine of Changu Narayan is especially holy. This famed temple to Vishnu is built upon a spur a few miles to the north of the city, and though its doors are closed to strangers without the direct interposition of the Nepal Government, it is worth while to ask for exceptional privilege for the mere chance of seeing this sanctuary. Holy as Pashpati it is not, nor is it as popular as Balaji; but beyond any other Hindu site in the Valley Changu Narayan is rich in all that the historian



CHANGU NARAYAN

and the artist love. There are within its courtyard inscriptions which have given a key to the darkest passage in Nepal history; the carvings—stone and wood and copper alike—are older and more profuse than on the walls, doors, struts, and brackets of any other shrine, and of its spiritual authority there is no question. Upon the stretch of stone and gravel before the main doorway of Changu Narayan none but a Hindu may set his foot; though with a little persuasion from the Nepalese officer who for such a visit will accompany the stranger, permission will be obtained to examine the other three sides of the shrine. He will find that the tendency and development of Newari religious architecture are better exhibited in Changu Narayan than in any other building in the Valley. The reader will by this

time be already acquainted with the main characteristics of the "pagoda-like" architecture of the Mallas. In the illustration that is given of Changu Narayan he will be able to notice the extraordinary extent to which decoration has been carried. One remembers all the wealth of carving of the rest of the Valley, one remembers the woodwork of Peking, the Queen's golden monastery in Mandalay, and the temples at Nara and Horiuji in Japan. But when all is recalled it is probably to the shrine of



PASHPATTI

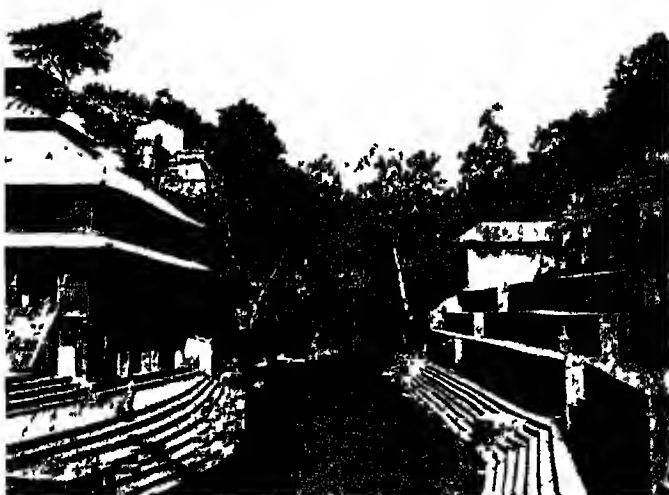
Showing the main temple being 10-gilt

Changu Narayan that one offers the palm. Perhaps one drives back home from Bhatgaon more full of thought than from any other expedition to the many outlying places of this crowded centre of holiness and history and art.¹

¹ On returning from Changu Narayan a curious vulture with a white ruff, white trousered stomach and black wings, chest and crest, about 3 ft. 6 in. in height, as far as one can judge, excited some interest among the servants. I have not been able to trace it.

§ 10

Pashpati.—Of the Hindu shrines in Nepal the most sacred is that of Pashpati. Here, a mile or two outside Kaimandu to the north-east, the river Bagmati forces its way through a wooded gorge, and the natural beauty of the spot may have gone far to suggest the many legends which have endeared it to the Nepalese. A stretch of the river a quarter of a mile in length is held especially in reverence, and in a great measure is to Nepal what the Ganges at Benares is to India. By the side of the stream there are on a smaller scale the same ghats backed by temples and other



PASHPATI

Showing royal burning ghats and river

buildings as at Benares, all devoted to the sad uses of the last of human ceremonials. For it is here that in their dying hours the people of the Valley are brought, in order that at the last moment they may be laved in the slow-moving waters of the holy Bagmati. These ghats are roughly divided into two portions by a pair of closely adjoining bridges. Upstream are the general ghats and burning-places. Downstream is the part reserved for the last moments of the two great houses of Nepal—those of the King and of the Prime Minister. The sloping ledge which may be seen in the photograph is that upon which the dying man is placed so that his legs at least are in the stream. Here he remains until death overtakes him. Afterwards the body is burnt with great and decent ceremony upon the stone plinths

near by, which also may be recognized in the picture. The connection between Nepal and Benares has always been intimate. It has been to Benares that fugitive kings and leaders have as a rule made their way from Katmandu; and unfortunately it has also been in Benares that they or their adherents have concocted the plots and conspiracies for the subversion of the existing regime in the Valley which have given so much anxiety to the Governments of both India and Nepal. Visitors to

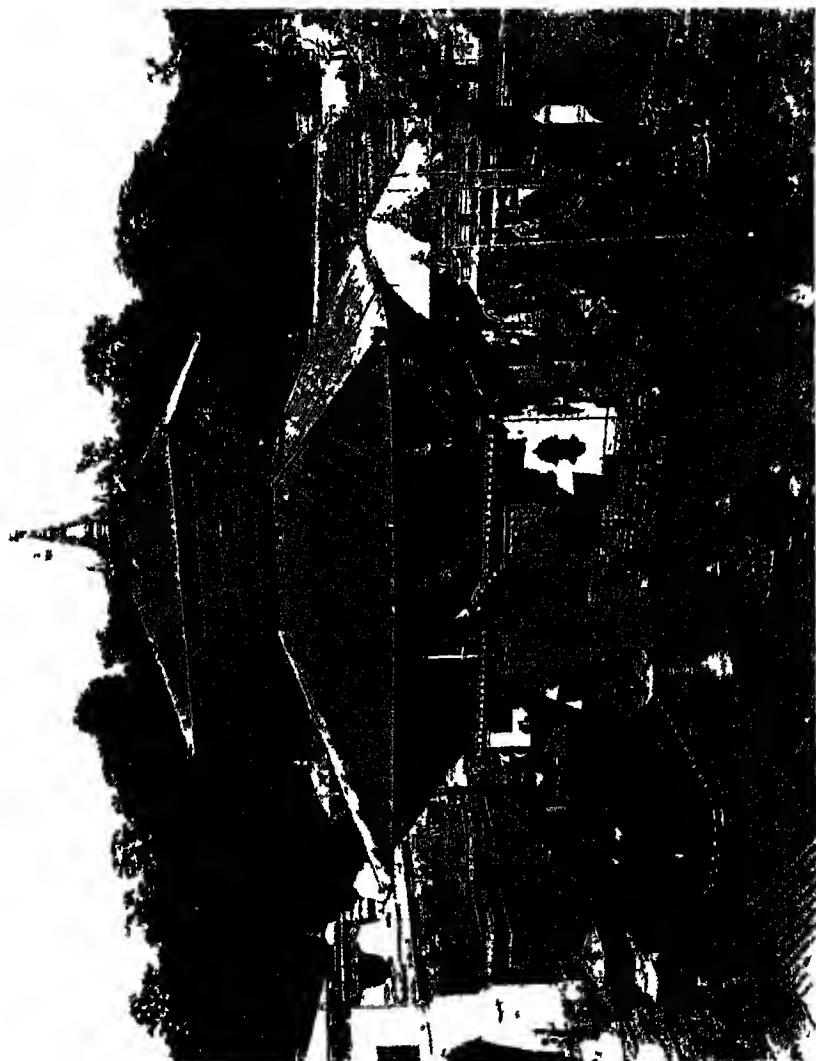


PASHPATI

Looking up stream

Benares will remember that there and nowhere else in India a Nepalese temple has been built and that it offers more than one remarkable contrast to the rest of the architecture and ornamentation of the holy city.

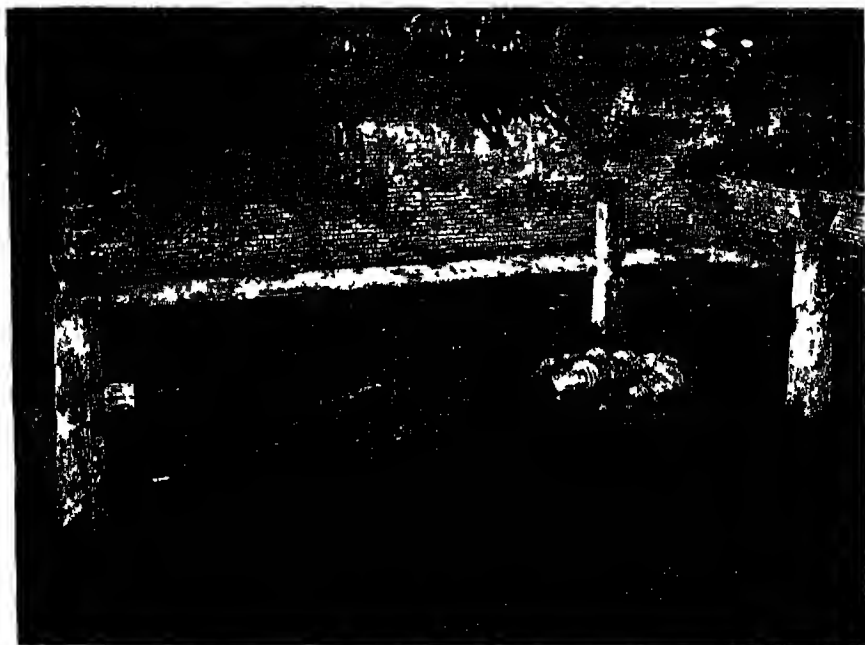
The holy town of Pashpati is for the most part a collection of solidly built brick or stone shrines. The characteristic Nepalese wooden architecture is less to be seen here than elsewhere. This is no doubt due to the eagerness with which generation after generation has sought to do ever fresh honour to the place, and in the effort has been apt to pull down the work of its predecessors and replace it by a finer building in the fashion of the day.



TEMPLE OF PASHPATINATH

(A unique photograph of the main temple, taken for the first time by special permission)

Nilkantha,¹ at the foot of the northern hills, is invested with more sanctity than are most of the outlying places of Hindu worship within the Valley.² The legend runs that a husbandman was digging in his garden either for the purpose of making a tank or at the orders of his king, and that he struck his spade against a hidden rock. A few minutes' clearing of the earth brought to light one end of a recumbent statue of Vishnu. The figure is of gigantic size and lies on its back upon a bed of coiling serpents. It has apparently been carved from a single block of black stone, and the tank



THE FIGURE OF NARAYAN AT BALAJI

which had been intended by the peasant for the collection of water for his fields, has remained to surround this remarkable piece of sculpture with a moat of clear moving water.³ A few trees overhang this shrine, and round it there is a kind of courtyard backed by small shrines and other buildings.

¹ It was a long journey out and was marked only by the refusal of a dumb beggar to take a fourpenny piece because he was in rags and he would be thought to have stolen it.

² There are four shrines to Narayan in the Valley, at Changu, Chainju, Ichangu, and the Sikhar Narayan. These are visited by the religious who thereby acquire great merit. They are all derivatives of the Narayan of Buda-Nilkantha.

³ At Buda-Nilkantha during the drought of 1924 the water was lower than it had ever been before, and the nest of cobras was exhibited in its entirety for the first time.

Balaji.—Elsewhere at Balaji, an exquisite and well-wooded resort two miles to the north-west of Katmandu, there is another and very similar recumbent statue of Vishnu. This also is couched upon a bed of cobras and partly submerged in a tank. The reason for the carving of this second figure is curious. By long tradition the King of Nepal is not permitted to



WATERSPOUTS AT BALAJI

visit the greater figure at Nilkantha. Legends have grown up to account for this prohibition, but the real reason apparently is that the king is himself a reincarnation of one form of Vishnu, and it is impossible that the two should meet.¹ But no objection is seen to his visiting this smaller

¹ Either this or the legendary dream of Pratapa Malla, that if he or any of his descendants or successors ever visited Nilkantha he would die, is responsible for the fact that no king of Nepal has ever visited the pool, and that has now become a custom.

reproduction of the Nilkantha figure. Balaji is indeed for king and people alike a more popular place of pilgrimage and picnics than Nilkantha, which is farther from Katmandu, which stands amid no wide wooded and grassy lawns, and of which, to say the truth, the outer buildings betray a good deal of neglect. On the other hand there are few prettier sights than the long row of old stone waterspouts at Balaji projecting their crystal curves into the stew below. Magnificent woods climb the hill behind them, and in front a broad lawn of a quality and colour unknown in India stretches out green and level beneath fine trees from the water's edge to the picturesque surrounding wall of interlacing arched brickwork. Here were roses rambling everywhere beneath the ashes, elms, and eucalyptus. Drawn together wherever there was a damp patch were clumps of the trumpet-petalled datura. On a terrace above are other stews, in which enormous carp of metallic green latticed with velvety black move confidently up between the lotus stems for the biscuit crumbs or the parched grain or the locusts of visitors—Fontainebleau in the Himalayas.

There is no space in which to tell the story of the other cities and monuments of the Valley, but a brief reference to some may be of interest. The Emperor Asoka built a stupa on the hill of Kirtipur, a town covering a long low fold of ground to the south-west of Katmandu. It was here that Prithwi Narayan, as has already been told, after promising to spare the inhabitants, carried out his diabolical revenge of hacking off the noses and lips of all the adult males; from which brutal act the place was long known as Naskatpur, and still seems to suffer.¹ Here is a fine temple to Bhairab as well as the overbuilt and much decorated Asokan stupa, no part of which now offers any resemblance to the original monument. It has been practically obliterated by the ornaments and additions of later ages, and the most interesting architectural feature now left in Kirtipur is a fine Newari temple to Bhairab or Shiva. The streets of this town are picturesque, and the houses are sometimes of a height and solidity that you would not easily find among the best streets even of Katmandu. But a sense of decay lies heavily over this, another of the abandoned capitals of the Valley.

From Kirtipur a long walk across the fields brings one past Chobar on a hill, and Chargarh—where the residence of the four Kazis used to be and where an ancient undeciphered inscription awaits the consideration of M. Lévi—to the lake Taudah.² This sheet of water was long identified with

¹ Father Giuseppe was an eye witness of this monstrous act, and Col. Kirkpatrick testifies thirty years later that he had himself seen at Naskatpur some of the survivors of this cruel mutilation.

² There is a story that an evil spirit in the form of Danasur coveted the wealth of India, the King of the Gods. Indirectly this resulted in the accumulation of the vast treasure which is hidden away in the small Lake Taudah under the guardianship of

the fiery spring mentioned by early Chinese travellers. There can, however, be no doubt that the pool Ankhe Daha, near Harisiddhi, represents this legendary spot both from the identity of name¹ and the correspondence of its distance and position from Patan. There is nothing of interest at either place, though of Taudah it is worth noting that but a few years ago the encroachments of farmers owning adjoining fields were cut away and the lake restored to its original size and shape. This was done by the advice of a Lama from Lhasa who was of opinion that a three years' serious drought had been caused by the sacrilegious action of the farmers. Rain then fell freely and a good harvest was secured.

So far as Ankhe Daha is concerned it is reached by a short journey from Harisiddhi on the main road to Godavari. There is a very ancient stupa, so ruined as to be almost unrecognizable, by the side of the road across the fields from Harisiddhi. Ankhe Daha, where the Chinese pilgrims apparently discovered a petroleum spring and were much interested in its inflammability, is on the plain of Dhapa Khel. There are two shallow ponds here. The larger is filled with water lilies and provides water for a small clump of houses on the northern bank. The smaller of the two ponds is probably that referred to by the Chinese travellers. Except for the legend connected with it, it is insignificant and could attract the attention of no one. Yet in all Oriental literature there is probably no clearer description of a petroleum spring than that which is given by seventh-century visitors to Nepal.

A third traveller adds to the witness of the others, that there was a slimy ooze round the edge of the pond. This cannot be other than the coagulated bitumen which is, next to the smell, the first and most palpable sign of the presence of a surface oilwell. There is no doubt about the identity of the place, but that there is petroleum there at this moment is unlikely. Not the faintest trace of the black exudations is to be seen. It would be a hazardous thing for the Nepal Government to begin operations for the discovery of oil here without the most careful examination of the site by a modern expert.

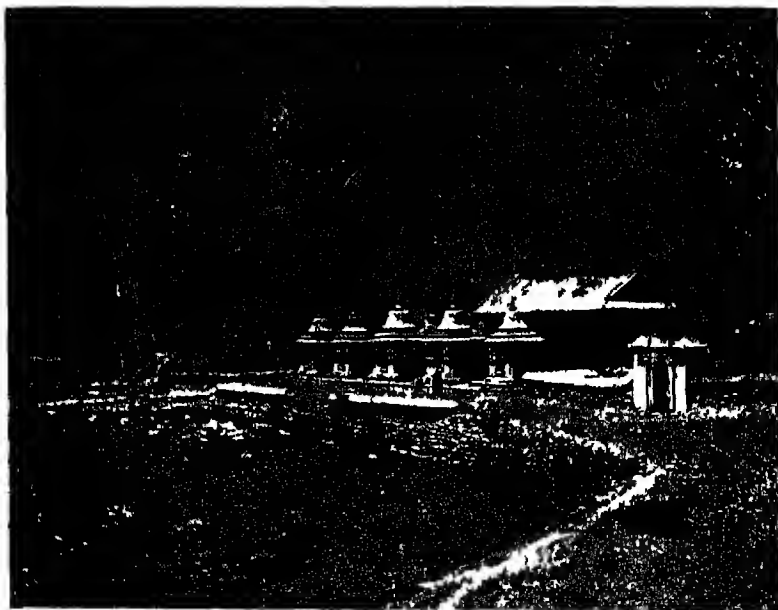
A local tradition has it that the famous self-sacrifice of Sakyamuni, who, in his previous incarnation as Mahasatwa, had offered his own body

Karkotak, King of the Serpent Gods. Jang Bahadur himself seems to have attached some importance to this legend, and had the pool dragged; but he found nothing. There is probably a geological truth underlying the further legend that the same Danasur, in order to make a pond for his daughter to play in, filled up the Chobar gorge, with the result that the Valley again became a lake. On this occasion it was Vishnu who came to the rescue of the unhappy villagers and, having killed Danasur, reopened the sluice, and incidentally carried off the daughter.

¹ The Chinese rendering of Ankhe Daha by A-ki-po-li is almost exactly correct. The last two syllables represent the Chinese attempt to render "pokhui," an alternative for the word "daha," meaning "pool."

to feed a starving tiger, took place among the mountains at the south-eastern end of the Valley. The Tibetans, in consequence, know the site as Stag-mo-lus-sbyin.

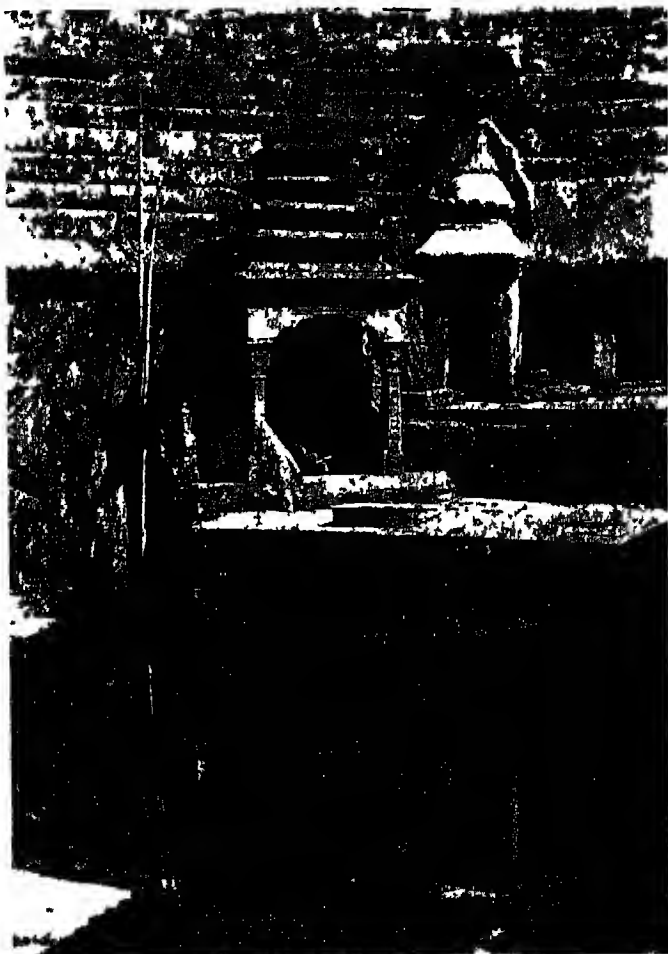
Godavari.—Of other places in the Valley the springs of Godavari are the most beautiful. A ten-mile road runs to them from Katmandu. It is a road that is motorable, though it has no pretensions to rival the one great thoroughfare of the Valley—that which leads from Thankot, at the



GODAVARI

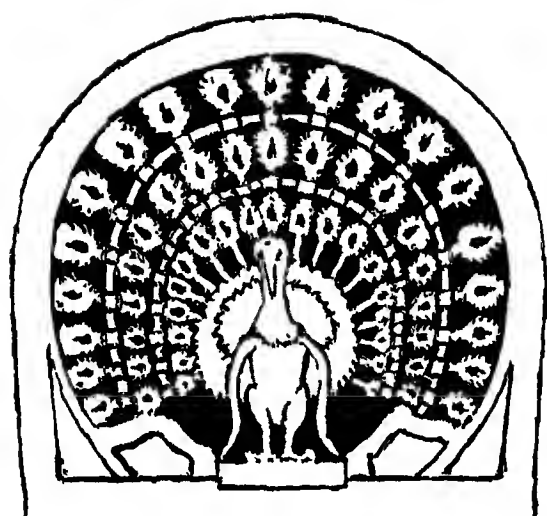
base of the Chandragiri Pass, through Katmandu, to Boddhnath and the Bagmati. It leaves Patan by the southern gate and, dipping down across the stream by Hatiban—which is not to be confused with another Hatiban “near the exit of the Bagmati”—it passes by the side of Harisiddhi, and then begins to rise over the under-features of the hills which shut in the Valley to the south. One passes on the right a prominent group of what would be called in South Africa “kopjes.” They are named after “husked rice” (Chuwal), “unhusked rice” (Dhan), and “husks” (Bhusa). After leaving them the road ascends through increasingly beautiful scenery, and between the encroachments of the wooded spurs of Phulchok. The road ends in as forest-clad and secluded a spot as was ever dedicated for the

vation of men. To the left, among these wooded hills, is a stretch of shrines along the masoned bank of a broad pool. Immediately to the right is the fabled source of the Godavari, the South Indian river. Nothing is more curious than the persistent legendary connection between Nepal and



MAHADEVA TEMPLE, GODAVARI

the South of India. With our present knowledge it is impossible to explain this association, but it is a fact, and a remarkable fact, that Nepal is united by many ties with this remote and, to her, almost unapproachable region of India, while her connections with the Northern India at her front gate were in old days scarcely more than political.



APPENDIX I

ARMORIAL BEARINGS AND FLAGS

THE following notes upon the armorial bearings of the King and the Prime Minister have been given to me by a pandit in Katmandu. The accompanying drawing is the work of a Nepalese artist. They do not differ except in detail. The upper symbol is the "Sri Panch" or the head-dress. The King's head-dress is adorned with five "Chands" or leaf-shaped ornaments in front. In the case of the Prime Minister there are three "Chands." Other high officials bear one "Chand."

The "Chands" in the head-dress correspond with the number of "Sris" to which the wearer is entitled.¹ In referring to the King or the Minister, the one is styled "Sri Panch (five) Sarkar," and the other "Sri Tin (three) Sarkar" in consonance with the number of "Sris" that go before the name of each. The "Sarkar" in the reference stands evidently for "Government."

The bird of paradise plume is believed to have been introduced by Mathabar Singh Thapa when he came back after his sojourn in the Panjab Court.⁴ The spray of peacock feather is a part of the badge of the high Chinese honour borne by the present Prime Minister and Marshal.

Below the "Sri Panch" or the head-dress is shown a pair of footprints known as "Guru Paduka," representing the footprints of Sri 108 Gorakhnath, the guardian deity of Gorkha, whence the Ranas came. [It is not correct to interpret the "Paduka" as "Vishnu Paduka," inasmuch as those are used only in Gaya for offering oblations to one's ancestry, and hence cannot be an auspicious symbol to be placed on coins and armorial bearings.]

Below the "Paduka" appear a pair of crossed kukhris, the national

¹ The prefix "Sri" stands for glory, opulence, etc., and is enjoined to be prefixed to the names of the living and of the gods in "Sanskartatwam," as quoted in *Sabdakalpadruma*. It is customary to repeat the prefix a certain number of times before a name to express the dignity of the named. One authority quoted in the above lexicon from Patra Kaumadi by Barauchi states that six "Sris" should be prefixed before the name of the Guru, five before that of the lord or ruler, two before the name of a servant, four before that of an enemy, three before that of a friend, and so on. Other authorities provide direction for the number of "Sris" to be attached to a name in accordance with the dignity of the named, and in the book referred to, the form of address or "Prasasti" for a King, a minister, the Guru, etc., are given in detail. These "Prasastis" give three "Sris" for the Minister. Thus the usage in Nepal, in this as in many other things, is in accord with the provisions of the "Hindu scriptures" without being an innovation, and a "Chand" in the head-dress corresponds to a "Sri" in the name of the minister.

⁴ But it will be seen from the portrait of Prithwi Narayan on p. 60 that the plume was used in his day.

weapon of the Gaekhas. This emblem is of recent introduction into the armorial bearings of the country.

On either side of the pair of crossed kukhris, the sun and moon are represented. These are very common symbols on coins, flags, copper and other inscriptions, and are inserted to invoke the blessing of the gods, and to make the objects or the name and fame of the donor as everlasting as the two prominent orbs in heaven. These, with the "Guru Paduka," may be taken in the same manner as the auspicious symbols by which a



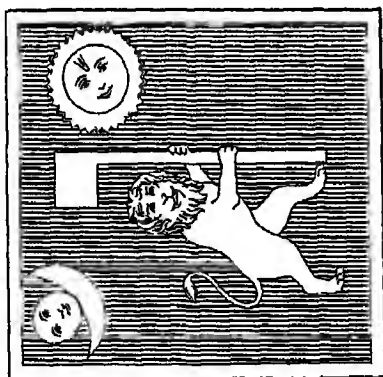
ROYAL ARMS OF NEPAL

letter should be begun. The crescent moon is in the increasing phase, typifying an expansion of glory and fame.

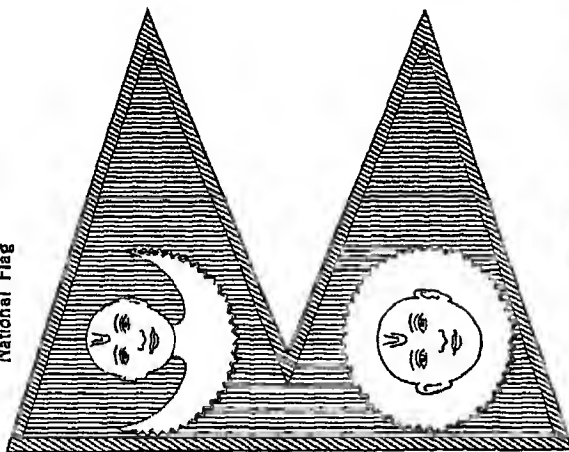
The shield below, the coat of arms itself, symbolizes the whole country of Nepal from the Himalayas to the forest-covered Tarai watched over by the Guardian Deity Sri 108 Pashpatinath, herein depicted with four arms and the emblems according to the "Dhyan" or mental image for worship laid down in the shastras. [The idea is of a god who creates and destroys the universe and protects and fulfils the wishes of a devotee.]

The legend in Sanskrit encircling the lower part of the shield expresses that one's mother and motherland stand even higher than, and are superior to, "Swarga" or heaven itself. So that he who honestly and faithfully serves both will in the end be admitted to a sphere of the highest heaven.

Kings Standard

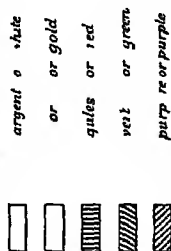


National Flag

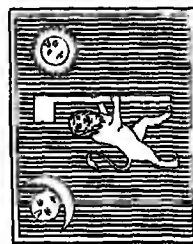


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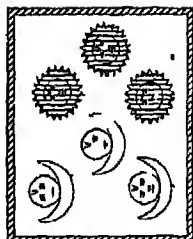
The colours are represented
by the following halchings



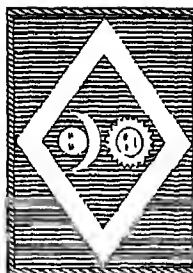
The Kings Standard and personal flag
are edged with purple with white
to the edges here only



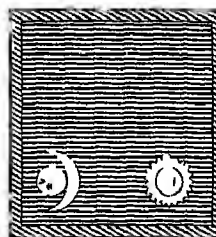
H M the Kings



H H the Maharajas



H E Commander in Chief's



Senior Commanding General's

S t a n d a r d & F l a g s

The Hindu cosmology mentions seven spheres in heaven, one beyond the other. Hence the bliss of the seventh or highest sphere is reserved for those who serve their mother and motherland.

The foreground below the shield represents the green cornland and the agricultural interests of Nepal. The military honour of the country is represented by the two supporters, the sinister standing for the raw recruit and the dexter for the finished soldier.

No description in heraldic language of the above bearings is extant here. The whole gives expression to a sustained idea not connected with ancestry, and may not be conveniently put in the language used by European heralds. Briefly stated, the conception is a prayer to the Almighty from the bearer of the arms to enable him to discharge the duties of his office and to defend the rights of the country and to perpetuate its name and fame as long as the sun and moon last.

The sketches on p. 235 illustrate the special flags borne by the high officials in Nepal.

APPENDIX II

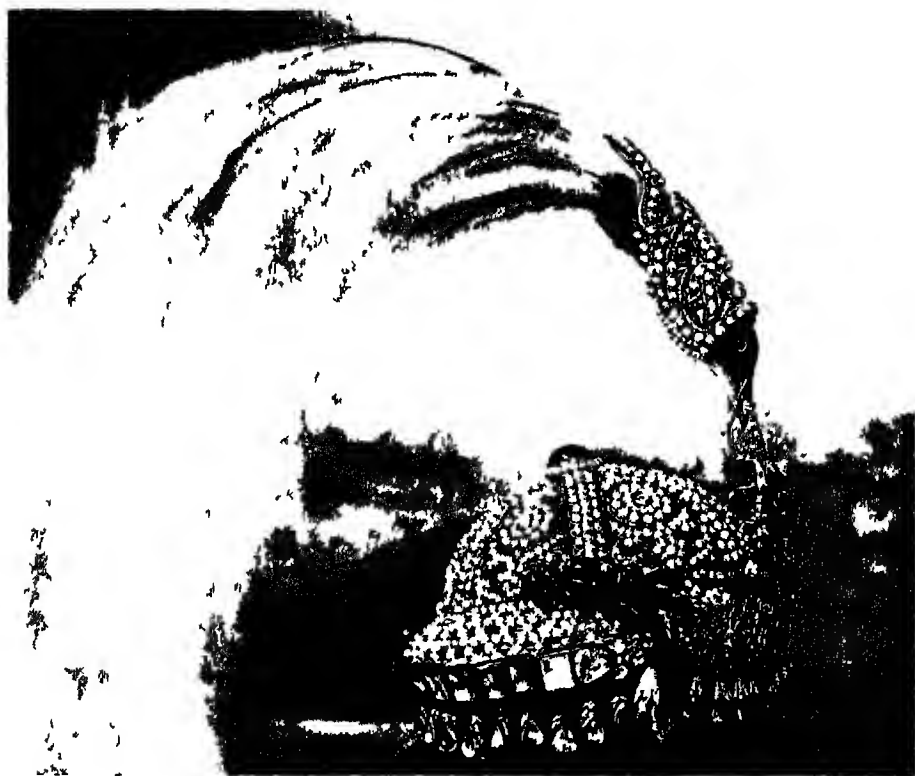
REGALIA, ANTHEMS, AND TITLES

ON the top of the royal head-dress is a large emerald. The enormous ruby which surmounts the head-dress of the Maharaja is the representation of the Transparent Red Ball (commonly but wrongly translated as "button") which goes with the grant of the Double-Eyed Peacock Feather, and was the badge of the highest class within the power of the Emperor to bestow. The Maharaja of Nepal possesses also the right to wear the sable coat.

The head-dress which crowns the Royal coat of arms is the "Sri Panch" or official crown worn by the King. It is entirely composed of diamonds, pearls, emeralds, and rubies. There are certain distinctions between the head-dress used by His Majesty and the similar crown which is appropriate to the Prime Minister's office. The latter is said to be the actual head-dress designed and worn by Jang Bahadur.

As will be seen from the accompanying illustrations, the Prime Minister's head-dress is composed of a cap of closely sewn pearls, ornamented as probably no other royal emblem in the world is adorned. In front there are three circular plaques composed of large diamonds. These are about $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches across, and with the six diamond-studded and emerald-bearing brackets which heighten the upper part are $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches in height. They bear a representation of the sun and moon, the faces being blocked out with large diamonds in the central boss. The middle plaque is more elaborate. It bears a representation of the "garuda," and is $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches in

height. The emeralds that depend from the diamond stalks of the three plaques are of considerable size, probably $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch in length on the average. To the right of this head-dress, in a setting of fine emeralds,¹ is a very remarkable jewel. It is an emerald $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, set with a beautiful carved gold and diamond seal at one end, on which is written in Arabic, "Ya-Ali," which was in the possession of Nadir Shah² and Nana Sahib.



THE KING'S HEAD-DRESS

This is held in position by a clasp of seven diamonds. The seal end of this jewel may be made out in the picture a little way above the cluster of huge

¹ The emeralds used on these head-dresses are drop-shape. The diamonds for the most part are "flatted."

² It was Nadir Shah, the Persian conqueror, who ordered a general massacre of the inhabitants of Delhi on the 11th of March 1739. He carried away with him treasures estimated at £50,000,000 sterling, among which were the Koh-i-Nor diamond, now one of the State jewels of the British regalia, and the famous peacock throne which stood in the Diwan-i-khas, and which was estimated to be worth about £13,000,000. The late Lord Curzon believed that he had discovered a fragment of this throne in the Shah's treasury at Teheran. The peacock throne which exists in the Shah's palace to-day has no connection with the Indian throne.

emeralds to which attention must now be drawn. These, too, came from the jewels of Nana Sahib. They form a cluster of four rows, the first and second containing five emeralds each, the third and fourth containing six large emeralds, and the cluster is terminated by one enormous emerald,



THE PRIME MINISTER'S HEAD-DRESS

like the others of the most perfect water and measuring 1 inch in length. it is curious to notice that among them are a couple of emeralds that have been slightly gadrooned

Except for one enormous emerald, slightly carved and measuring $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length, the largest of this magnificent parure is that which hangs from the first of the row of heart-shaped or oval diamonds which is

carried round from the front to the back of the head-dress. There are ten hanging on the right side of the head-dress, and eleven on the left. The giant on the right measures $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and the others are slightly smaller. A few enormous cut rubies are used here and there. The general effect is one of pearly sheen, enhanced by diamonds and toned by these rings and masses and pyramids of great emeralds.

In front rises the bird of paradise plume¹—these plumes are taken from the *paradisica apoda*—like a fountain of brown and orange and white. It is set in a head-piece mounted in pearls and gold, and is one of the most beautiful parts of this dignified and splendid coronet.

The King's head-dress is differenced from that of the Prime Minister by five of these plaques or "chands."² The back of his crown is ornamented by enormous flattened diamonds about $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch square. It will be seen in the accompanying picture that he too has a bunch of large emeralds, of which the lowest is a gigantic stone of $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length. Behind, His Majesty's head-dress continues the row of hanging stones, but substitutes for them flattened diamonds, each hung as a pendant to the large square diamond above.

Among the Crown jewels of Nepal is one that deserves a passing mention. It is a knot of large diamonds which belonged to the late Empress Eugénie and was sold by her in 1886. The jewel, which is 5 inches in length by $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in breadth, is composed of diamonds of large size.

¹ The same plumes of the great bird of paradise, though of different sizes, are used by all members of the royal and prime ministerial families.

² From only three of these chands, however, do the emerald and diamond heightenings

ANTHEM FOR H.M. THE MAHARAJADHIRAJA OF NEPAL

ANDANTE

Shri mân gum bhi ra gor khâ Li pra chan da pra tâ pi bhu pa ti shri
Bai ri sâ râ ha râ un shânta ho un sa bai bi ghna bya thâ ga

Panch Sir hâr ma hâ râ jâ dhu râ ja kosa dâ ra hos un na ti râ
lin sâ râ du ni yâ le sha harsha nâ tha ho su hr ti ka thâ Râ

Khun chi ra u ee sha Le pra jâ fai lu yos pu hâ raun ja ya pre ma le hâ
Khaun ha mâ na bhâ ri bi ra ta le ne pâ la mâthi sa dhai nâ tha ho shri

rall.
mî gor khâ Li bhâ ee sâ râ le.
has thu Lo hâ mî gor khâ Li ko

ANTHEM FOR H.M. THE MARAHAJADHIRAJA OF NEPAL

Shrīmān gumbhīra gorkhālī prachanda pratāpi bhūpati
 Shri-Pānch sirkār Mahārājādhirājako sadā rahos unnati,
 Rākhun chirāyu eeshalé, prajā failiyos, pukāraun jaya premalé
 Hāmi gorkhālī bhāec sārālé.

Bairī sārā harāun, Shānta houn sabai bighna-byathā ;
 Gāun Sārā duniyālé saharsha nāthako sukīrti kathā ;
 Rākhaun kamāna bhāri bīratālé Nepālamāthi sadhai nāthako ;
 Shrihos thulo hāmi Gorkhālīko.

श्री ५ महाराजाधिराजको
 सलामी.

श्रीमान् गम्भीर गोर्खाली प्रचण्डप्रतापी भूपति,
 श्रीपाँच सर्कार महाराजाधिराजको सदा रहोस् उन्नति;
 राखून् चिरायु ईशले, प्रजा फैलीयोस्, पुकारौं जय प्रेमले,
 हामी गोर्खाली भाई साराले.

१

वैरी सारा हराऊन्, शान्त होऊन् सबै विघ्नव्यथा,
 गाऊन् सारा दुनीजाले सहर्ष नाथको सुकीर्ति—कथा;
 राखौं कमान, भारी—वीरताले, नेपालमाथी सधैं नाथको,
 श्री होस् ठूलो हामी गोर्खालीको.

२

ANTHEM FOR H.H. THE MAHARAJA OF NEPAL

ANDANTE

Hi ma shai la man di ta su hin du lâ shri ta a
 Ri pu nash ta hun a ta la shâ sa nâ ra hos gu

dhi de va lâ pa shu pa ti pra sâ di ta na
 na gâ na mag na sa ba lo ha bhai ra hos sthi

ya pâ la ti na sa ra kâ ra bi ra ho ja
 i ra bhai ra hos mu luk mâ sva tan tra tâ su

ya hos ni râ ma ya chu râ yu bhai ra hos.
 kha shôn ti un na ti ra hos ja tâ tâ tâ.

ANTHEM FOR H.H THE MAHARAJA OF NEPAL

IImashaila-mandita suhindutāshrita
 Adhidevatā Pashupati prasādita
 Nayapāla tīna Sarakāra bīrako
 Jayahos, Nirāmaya chiraīyu bhairahos ;

Ripu nashtahun, atala shāsanā rahos ;
 Gunagāna magna sabaloka bhairahos ;
 Sthira bhairahos mulukmā svatantiātā,
 Sukha-Shānti-Unnati rahos jatātātā

श्रीं ३ महाराजको
 सलामी.

हिमशैलमण्डित सुहिन्दुताऽऽश्रित,
 अधिदेवता—पशुपति—प्रसादित,
 नयपाल—तीन—सरकार वीरको,
 जय होस्, निरामय चिरायु भैरहोस्.

१

रिपु नष्ट हून्, अटल शासना रहोस्,
 गुणगानमग्न सब लोक भैरहोस्,
 स्थिर भैरहोस् मुलुकमा स्वतन्त्रता,
 सुख—शान्ति—उन्नति रहोस् जता तता.

२

The following are the full titles, or "Prasasti," of His Majesty the King and His Highness the Prime Minister Marshal, as they have been incorporated in the design for the latest State seals

श्री ५ महाराजधिराजको प्रसस्ति ।



स्वस्तिश्रीगिरिराजचक्रचूडामणिनरनारायणेत्यादिविविधविरु-
दावलिविराजमानमानोन्नत प्रोज्ज्वलनेपालतारामहाधिपति
श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज श्रीश्रीश्री महाराज त्रिभुवनवीरविक्रम
जङ्गबहादुर शाहबहादुर शम्शेरजङ्गदेवानां सदा समरविजयिनाम्.

His Majesty the King

Svasti Shrī Girirāja-chakra-chūda-mani Nara-nārāyanetyādi vividha-
virudāvali - virājamāna - mānonnata Projjwala-nepāla - tārā - mahādhipati
Shrīman-mahārājādhirāj-Shrī Shrī Shrī Mahārāja Tribhubana-vīravikrama
Jang-bahādur Shāha-bahādur Shamshe-jang devānām sadā-samara-
vijayinām.

श्री ३ महाराजको प्रसस्ति ।



स्वस्तिश्रीमदतिप्रचण्डभुजदण्डेत्यादि प्रोज्ज्वलनेपालताराधीश
श्रीश्रीश्रीमहाराज चन्द्रशम्शेर जङ्गबहादुर राणा, जी.सी.बी.,
जी.सी.एस.आई., जी.सी.एम.जी., जी.सी.भी.ओ., डी.सी.एल.,
आनरेरि जनरल वृटीश आर्मि; आनरेरि कर्णेल फोर्थ गोर्खाजु;
थोडू-लिन्-पिम्मा-कोकाडू-वाडू-स्यान्; ग्राँहूद् अफिसिए द ला
लेजिओ द अनेयर्; ग्राइम्मिनिष्टर, मार्शल, सुप्रीम कम्याण्डर
इनचीफ कस्य रुक्ता.

His Highness the Prime Minister

Projjvala Nepālatārādhisha Mahārāja Chandra Shamsher Jang Bahādur Rānā, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., D.C.I., Honorary General, British Army; Honorary Colonel, Fourth Gurkhas; T'ung-ling-ping-ma-kuo-kan-wang; Grand Officier de la Legion d'Honneur; Prime Minister, Marshal and Supreme Commander-in-Chief of Nepal.

The following were the full titles used by His Majesty King Surendra Vikram, and His Highness Maharaja Jang Bahadur Rana :

His Majesty the King

Svasti Shri Giriraja-Chakra-chuda-mani Nara-narayanetyadi vividha-virudavali-virajamana-manonnata. Shriman-maharajadhiraj Shri Shri Maharaja Surendra Vikram Jang Bahadur Shaha-bahadur Shamsher-jang devanam sada-samara-vijayinam.

His Highness the Prime Minister

Svasti Shri Madati-prachanda-bhujadandetyadi¹ Shri Shri Shri Maharaja Jang Bahadur Rana, G.C.B. and G.C.S.I., T'ung-ling-ping-ma-kuo-kan-wang, Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief of Nepal.

It will be seen that there are slight differences in style. In some cases the addition explains itself, as, for example, Projjvala-nepala-tara-mahadhipati in His Majesty's titles refers to his position as sovereign of the Most Refulgent Order of the Nepala Tara. Similarly, "Projjvala Nepala-taradhisha" refers to the Prime Minister's position as Grand Master of that Order.

The additional title "Supreme Commander-in-Chief" appears at the end of the Prime Minister's prasasti. Maharaja Jang Bahadur used the title "Commander-in-Chief" and this style was adopted by his successors. But the second highest military officer of the State also bore the title Commander-in-Chief, and during the present ministry an attempt was made to avoid this repetition of the same title for two different officials by the introduction of a new designation. To the titles of the Prime Minister that of "Marshal" was then substituted for Commander-in-Chief, and the latter title was used only by the second highest military officer in the State. There seemed, however, a general feeling that the supreme military command exercised by the Prime Minister in virtue of his office was not sufficiently demonstrated by the addition of the word "Marshal" by itself. To avoid the difficulty which had arisen before by the employment of the same title for the two officials, and clearly to demon-

¹ The first portion of the titles, viz., "Svasti Shri Madati prachanda-bhujadandetyadi," is not written in the English transliteration, though it occurs in the Devanagari inscriptions of the State seals.

strate the seniority of the Prime Minister, the title Commander-in-Chief, preceded by the word "Supreme," has been restored.

It is worth noting that the conclusion of the prasasti of the King is in the genitive plural. The plural form is employed by the Sovereign in other languages, but the genitive termination used in Nepal represents the traditional royal formula in Sanskrit.

The exact title conferred by the Chinese Emperors on Jang Bahadur and Chandra Sham Sher has long been a matter upon which no exact information could be obtained. The transliteration which has been used, Thong-Lin-Pimma-Kokang-Wang-Syan, is quite unrecognizable, and no Chinese scholar has been able to suggest the meaning or, of course, the correct form. As it stands this phrase has no significance; with three exceptions it does not represent any Chinese characters.

Taking advantage of a stay in Peking I had the original grant traced, after some trouble, and the real meaning authenticated at the Record Office. In this research I must record my sincere thanks to Baron A. Staël Holstein and to Mr. E. S. Bennett of H.M. Legation. Annexed are the actual Chinese characters.

統 領	t'ung	} commander-
	ling	
兵 馬	ping	} of the
	ma	
果	kuo	truly
敢	kan	valiant
王	wang	prince
銜	hsien	[title of]

Under this astonishing transliteration may be read by the laborious reader "Maha raja Mien cha je yeng na-i-pa-tso-laje of Nepal (Chandra Jang) ra tsun ta je sheaf."

In the 28th year of Kuang-hsü, the ninth moon, the thirteenth day [14th October, 1902] an Imperial decree was issued conferring the title [hsien] of KUO-KAN WANG upon Mien-cha-je [pronounced "rer"]-ying-na-i-p'a-tsa-la-je-na-tsun-ta-je-sheng-hsish-ts'eng-ha-je-p'a-tu-je, Maharaja

of Nepal, with the ruby button [ranking above the nine ranks of officials distinguished by various kinds of hat buttons] and garments, including long and short coats.

The meaning of the characters is as above: The last sign "hsien" is used only to introduce the others and should be omitted. It corresponds to the phrase "by the style and title of" in English grants.

Ping ma [literally "foot and horse"] means "of the whole army."

Thus the whole phrase signifies that Chandra Sham Sher holds the Chinese style and title of "Truly valiant prince, Commander-in-chief of the army."

THE KINGS OF NEPAL

Drabya Sah, 1559-1570.
 Purandar Sah, 1570-1605.
 Chhatra Sah, 1605-1606.
 Rama Sah, 1606-1633.
 Dambar Sah, 1633-1642.
 Krishna Sah, 1642-1658.
 Rudra Sah, 1658-1669.
 Prithwipati Sah, 1669-1716.
 Birbhandra Sah, d.v.p.
 Narbhupal Sah, 1716-1742.
 Prithwi Narayan, 1742-1774.
 Singha Pratap Sah, 1774-1777.
 Rana Bahadur Sah, 1777-1799.
 Girvan Judha Vikram Sah, 1799-1816.
 Rajendra Bir Vikram Sah, 1816-1847.
 Surendra Bir Vikram Sah, 1847-1881 (17th May).
 Trailokya Bir Vikram Sah (b. 1st Dec. 1847), d.v.p.
 Prithwi Bir Vikram Sah (b. 8th Aug. 1875), 1881-1911 (11th Dec.).
 Tribhubana Bir Vikram Sah (b. 30th June 1906), 1911-

THE PRIME MINISTERS OF NEPAL

Gen. Bhim Sen Thapa.	Born 21st July 1775.	Prime Minister 10th April 1806.	Committed suicide in prison 29th July 1839 after having been removed from office in 1837.
Gen. Mathabar Singh Thapa.	Born 2nd Oct. 1798.	Prime Minister 28th Nov 1843.	Killed by Jang Bahadur 18th May 1845.

THE PRIME MINISTERS OF NEPAL—*continued*

Gen. Maharaja Jang Bahadur.	Born 18th June 1817.	Prime Minister 17th Sept. 1846.	Died 25th February 1877.
Gen. Maharaja Rana Udip Singh.	Born 3rd April 1825.	Prime Minister 27th February 1877.	Put to death 22nd November 1885.
Gen. Maharaja Bir Sham Sher.	Born 10th Dec. 1852.	Prime Minister 22nd Nov. 1885.	Died 5th March 1901.
Gen. Maharaja Deva Sham Sher.	Born 17th July 1862.	Prime Minister 5th March 1901.	Removed from office 26th June 1901. Died in India, 20th Feb. 1914.
Gen. Maharaja Chandra Sham Sher.	Born 8th July 1863.	Prime Minister 26th June 1901.	

APPENDIX III

THE PRESENT ROLL OF SUCCESSION TO THE PRIME MINISTERSHIP OF NEPAL DRAWN BY MAHARAJA CHANDRA SHAM SHER JANG BAHADUR RANA

1. Maharaja Prime Minister and Marshal Chandra Sham Sher Jang Bahadur Rana (son of General Dhir Sham Sher J.B.R.), G.C.B. (1908), G.C.S.I. (1905), G.C.M.G. (1919), G.C.V.O. (1911), D.C.L. (1908).
2. Commander-in-Chief General Bhim Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of General Dhir Sham Sher J.B.R.), K.C.S.I. (1917), K.C.V.O. (1911).
3. Senior Commanding General Judha Sham Sher J.B.R. (Western Command),¹ (son of General Dhir Sham Sher J.B.R.), K.C.I.E. (1917).
4. Commanding General Dharma Sham Sher J.B.R. (Eastern Command), (son of Maharaja Bir Sham Sher J.B.R.).
5. *Commanding General Rudra Sham Sher J.B.R. (Southern Command), (son of Maharaja Bir Sham Sher J.B.R.).
6. Commanding General Padma Sham Sher J.B.R. (Northern Command), (son of General Bhim Sham Sher J.B.R.), G.B.E. (1920), K.C.I.E. (1919).

¹ The commands are of the relative importance indicated above. Promotion is by seniority of birth.

7. *General Tej Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of Maharaja Bir Sham Sher J.B.R.), K.C.I.E. (1919), K.B.E. (1921).
8. General Mohan Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of Maharaja Chandra Sham Sher J.B.R.), K.C.I.E. (1924).
9. *General Pratap Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of Maharaja Bir Sham Sher J.B.R.).
10. General Baber Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of Maharaja Chandra Sham Sher J.B.R.), G.B.E. (1920), K.C.S.I. (1919), K.C.I.E. (1916).
11. Lieutenant-General Kaiser Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of Maharaja Chandra Sham Sher J.B.R.), K.B.E. (1924).
12. Lieutenant-General Bahadur Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of General Judha Sham Sher J.B.R.).
13. Lieutenant-General Agni Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of General Judha Sham Sher J.B.R.).
14. Lieutenant-General Singha Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of Maharaja Chandra Sham Sher J.B.R.).
15. Major-General Hari Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of General Judha Sham Sher J.B.R.).
16. Major-General Prachanda Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of General Fateh Sham Sher J.B.R.).
17. †Colonel Bhupal Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of General Fateh Sham Sher J.B.R.).
18. Major-General Krishna Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of Maharaja Chandra Sham Sher J.B.R.).
19. Lieutenant-Colonel Surya Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of General Judha Sham Sher J.B.R.).
20. Major-General Vishnu Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of Maharaja Chandra Sham Sher J.B.R.).
21. Major-General Shanker Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of Maharaja Chandra Sham Sher J.B.R.).
22. Lieutenant-Colonel Narayan Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of General Judha Sham Sher J.B.R.).
23. Major-General Madan Sham Sher J.B.R. (son of Maharaja Chandra Sham Sher J.B.R.).

Then according to seniority the sons of those who are in the Roll of Succession from their legally wedded wives with whom rice can be partaken.

At the time of Rana Udip's death the succession was as follows :

1. Rana Udip.
2. Jit Jang.
3. Padma Jang.
4. *Rana Bir Jang.

† General Fateh Sham Sher Jang Bahadur Rana was the Senior Commanding General (Western Command) in Nepal. He was the seventh son of Commander-in-Chief General Dhir Sham Sher Jang Bahadur Rana, and died in the year 1907.

The abbreviation "J.B.R." against the names stands for "Jang Bahadur Rana," which goes after each name in the ruling Rana family.

5. Judha Pratap Jang (grandson of Jang Bahadur, and the one legitimate child of Jagat Jang who was murdered at the same time as his father).
6. Kedar Narsingh (son of Badri Narsingh).
7. Bir Sham Sher (son of Dhir Sham Sher).
8. Ambar Jang (son of Jagat Sham Sher).
9. Dhoje Narsingh (son of Badri Narsingh, and adopted son of Rana Udip).
10. Khadga Sham Sher.
11. Bhupendra Jang (son of Jagat Sham Sher).
12. Rana Sham Sher.
13. Deva Sham Sher.
14. Chandra Sham Sher.
15. Bhim Sham Sher.
16. Fateh Sham Sher.
17. Lalit Sham Sher.
18. Jit Sham Sher.
19. *Bhairab Narsingh Bahadur.
20. *Icha (? Yaksha) Vikram (son of Bam Bahadur).

Note: The names marked with an asterisk are illegitimate. Rice cannot be partaken with them or with their families by the other members in the Roll.

APPENDIX IV

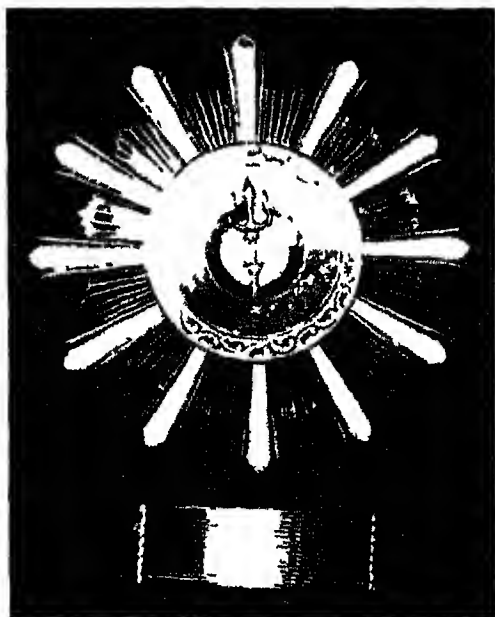
THE LAW OF ROYAL DESCENT

THE order of royal descent in Nepal is as follows:

1. The King.
2. His sons and grandsons in the same order of succession as that which prevails in Great Britain, *i.e.*, the eldest son of the King's eldest son would succeed his father or grandfather even if he happened to be born in point of time after the eldest son of the King's second son.
3. The King's brothers and their sons in the same order.
4. His wife.
5. His daughters in order of their birth and their sons.
6. The King's uncle.

APPENDIX V

DECORATIONS

THE MOST REFULGENT ORDER OF THE STAR OF NEPAL
(Instituted 1918)*SOVEREIGN (with the title of Projjwala Nepal Tara Mahadhipati)*His Majesty Maharajadhiraja Tribhubana Bir Vikram Jang Bahadur
Shah Bahadur Sham Sher Jang.ORDER OF THE STAR OF NEPAL
THIRD CLASS*GRAND MASTER (with the title of Projjwala Nepal Tara Dheesha).*His Highness Maharaja Chandra Sham Sher Jang Bahadur Rana,
Prime Minister and Marshal.*FIRST CLASS (with the title of Supradipta Manmyabara).*Commander-in-Chief General Bhim Sham Sher Jang Bahadur Rana
(1920).

Commanding General Juddha Sham Sher Jang Bahadur Rana (1920).

Commanding General Padma Sham Sher Jang Bahadur Rana (1918)

General Tej Sham Sher Jang Bahadur Rana (1918).

General Mohan Sham Sher Jang Bahadur Rana (1920).

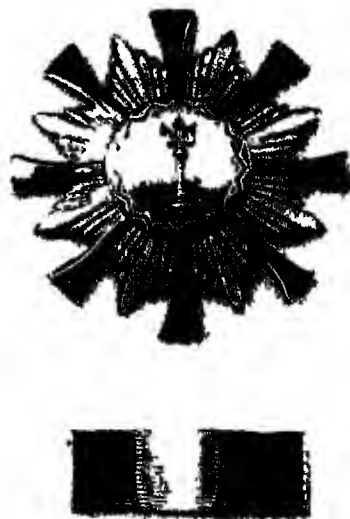
FIRST CLASS—continued

General Baber Sham Sher Jang Bahadur Rana, Nepal Pratap Bardhak (1918).

Lieutenant-General Kaisa Sham Sher Jang Bahadur Rana (1920).

SECOND CLASS (with the title of Pradipta Mannyabara).

Major-General Shere Sham Sher Jang Bahadur Rana (1918)



ORDER OF THE STAR OF NEPAL.
FOURTH CLASS

THIRD CLASS (with the title of Mannyabara).

Colonel Ghana Vikram Rana (1918)

Lieutenant-Colonel Dambar Sham Sher Thapa (1918).

Lieutenant-Colonel Sham Sher Vikram Rana (1918).

Commanding Colonel Kumar Narsingh Rana (1920).

Guraji Hem Raj Panditju (1920).

Lieutenant-Colonel Bhairab Sham Sher Jang Bahadur Rana (1920).

Lieutenant-Colonel Gambhir Jang Thapa (1920).

Bada Kaji Marichi Man Singh (1920).

FOURTH CLASS (with the title of Manny).

Commanding Colonel Dilli Sham Sher Thapa (1920).

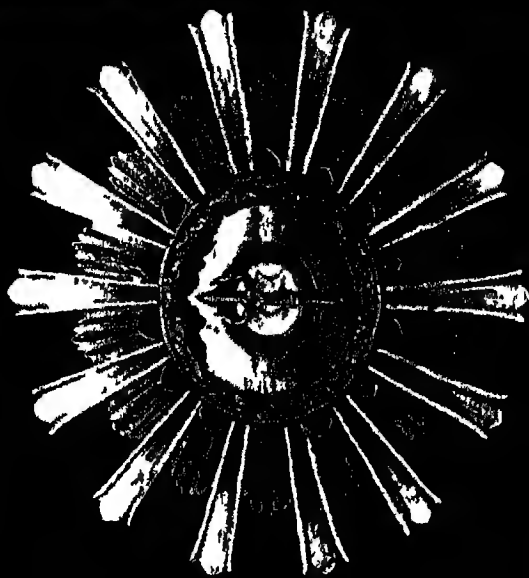
Brigadier-Colonel Dala Bahadur Basnyat (1920).

Sardar Batu Krishna Maitra (1920).

Mir Subha Austaman Singh (1920).



1st Class



2nd Class

ORDER OF THE STAR OF NEPAL.

The Gazette of India, 11th December 1920

The following are among the Decorations and Medals awarded by the Allied Powers at various dates to the British Forces for distinguished services rendered during the course of the campaign:

His Majesty the King-Emperor has given unrestricted permission in all cases to wear the Decorations and Medals in question.



MILITARY DECORATION

DECORATIONS CONFERRED BY HIS MAJESTY THE MAHARAJADHIRAJA OF NEPAL

Order of the Star of Nepal (2nd Class)

1. Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel (temporary Brigadier-General) William Desmond Villiers-Stuart, C.B.E., 5th Gurkha Rifles, Indian Army.
2. Major-General Nigel Gresley Woodyatt, C.B., C.I.E., Indian Army.

3rd Class

3. Major Wilfred Bertram Baker, O.B.E., 10th Gurkha Rifles, Indian Army.
4. Captain (temporary Major) William Douglas Grant Batten, 3rd Gurkha Rifles, Indian Army.
5. Captain (acting Major) Thomas Howard Battye, 10th Gurkha Rifles, Indian Army.
6. Captain William St. John Carpendale, 1st Gurkha Rifles, Indian Army.
7. Lieutenant-Colonel (acting Colonel) Thomas Howard Foulkes, C.I.E., F.R.C.S., Indian Medical Service
8. Lieutenant-Colonel John Wemyss Grant, M.B., Indian Medical Service.

9. Captain John Laurits Johanson, 7th Gurkha Rifles, Indian Army.
10. Lieutenant-Colonel William Campbell Little, 6th Gurkha Rifles, Indian Army.
11. Captain (acting Major) Alexander Sutherland Mackay, M.C., 7th Gurkha Rifles, Indian Army.
12. Major Alick Lindsay Mortimer Molesworth, 8th Gurkha Rifles, Indian Army.
13. Major William Brook Northey, M.C., 1st Gurkha Rifles, Indian Army.
14. Lieutenant-Colonel Charles McLeod Porteous, retired pay, Indian Army.
15. Captain George Gordon Rogers, 1st Gurkha Rifles, Indian Army.
16. Major Harold Middleton Drury Shaw, D.S.O., 1st Gurkha Rifles, Indian Army.

APPENDIX VI

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

OLD NEPALI WEIGHTS ¹

1 Thick Pice = 1 Tolâ	4 Pice . . = 1 Kunuwâ
19 Tolâs . . = 1 Pão	4 Kunuwâs = 1 Pão
4 Pãos . . = 1 Sur	4 Pãos . . = 1 Sur
3 Surs . . = 1 Dharni	3 Surs . . = 1 Dharni

MEASURE OF LENGTH

3 ¹ or 8 ¹ Jows (Barley) = 1 Angul
12 Anguls . . = 1 Bittâ
2 Bittâs . . = 1 Hât
2 Hâts . . = 1 Gaj (Yard)
2 Gaj . . = 1 Dhanu or Danda
2000 Dandas . . = 1 Kosha
4 Koshas . . = 1 Yojan

FOR MEASURING CLOTHS

3 ¹ Jows = 1 Angul
3 Anguls = 1 Giraha
4 Girahas (1 Bittâ) . = 1 Paó
4 Paós = 1 Gaj (Yard)
8 Girahas = 1 Hât
2 Hâts = 1 Gaj

¹ Different systems are in force in Nepal, and it is to be noted that while rice, wheat, maize, and other food grains are in the hills calculated by measure, they are sold by the weight in the Tarai. Originally the hill measures were based upon the capacity of a man's fingers and hands.

The weights in the Tarai used to differ according to the locality. This system presented such inconvenience that a regulation has been made fixing a common standard over the whole of the Tarai. The maund still represents different weights in India. That adopted by Nepal as official is a maund weighing somewhat more than eighty pounds. According to this, forty tolas are equal to one seer: eighty seers make one maund. In general the system of weights in use in India has been adopted along the frontier.

² Barley arranged thus ○○○○.

³ Barley arranged thus ○○○○).

FOR MEASURING FORMS OF LAND

8 Lines	= 1 Inch
12 Inches	= 1 Foot
3 Feet	= 1 Gaj
9 Feet and 3 Inches } or	= 1 Janjir (Chain)
6 Hât and 4 Anguls }	
16 Square Chains . . .	= 1 Muri ¹
4 Muris	= 1 Ropani
25 Ropanis	= 1 Kheta (Form)
4 Dâms	= 1 Paisa
4 Paisas	= 1 Anna
4 Annas	= 1 Jawâ
4 Jawâs	= 1 Ropani

DIFFERENT MEASURES FOR DIFFERENT KINDS OF LAND

<i>First-class Land.</i>	16 Sq. Janjirs = 1 Muri
<i>Second-class Land.</i>	$4\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ Janjirs = 1 Muri
<i>Third-class Land.</i>	5×4 Janjirs = 1 Muri
<i>Fourth-class Land.</i>	6×4 Janjirs = 1 Muri

FOR MEASURING HOUSE LANDS

$1 \times 22\frac{1}{2}$ Hâts	= 1 Jawâ
4 Jawâs	= 1 Khâ

MEASURE OF TIME (CHIEFLY CEREMONIAL)

60 Bipalâ	= 1 Palâ
60 Palâs	= 1 Gharhi = 24 mins
$7\frac{1}{2}$ Gharhis	= 1 Prahara
8 Prahars or 60 Gharhis	= 1 Din (Day)
7 Dins	= 1 Saptâha
2 Saptâhas	= 1 Paksha = 15 Days
2 Pakshas	= 1 Mahina (Month)
12 Mahinas	= 1 (Year) Barsha = 365 Days

MEASURES OF GRAIN

$2\frac{1}{2}$ Muthis ²	= 1 Chowthâi
4 Chowthâis	= 1 Mânâ ¹
2 Mânâs	= 1 Kuruwâ
4 Kuruwâs	= 1 Pâthi
20 Pâthis	= 1 Muri

¹ Muri is sometimes known as 1 Jawâ.² 1 Muthi = 1 fistful.

A mânâ is approximately equal to a pint, and has now been standardized.

NEPAL

PAPER

10 Táo¹ . = 1 Dhep
20 Dheps . = 1 Kori

APPENDIX VII

CENSUS RETURNS

THE CENSUS FIGURES OF NEPAL FOR 1920

	DISTRICT	HOUSES	POPULATION
<i>Central</i>			
(a)	Inside the Valley . . .	64,440	306,909
(b)	Outside the Valley . . .	10,361	60,101
		<hr/> 74,801	<hr/> 367,010
<i>Western</i>			
No. 1		38,397	165,251
No. 2		14,597	79,203
No. 3		14,976	82,160
No. 4		29,523	183,417
Palpa and Gulmi . . .		63,615	376,900
Piuthana		21,345	122,063
Salyana		36,531	214,329
Doti		24,332	153,229
Baitadi		9,116	77,895
Dahilekha		11,789	84,173
Jumla		14,296	89,022
		<hr/> 278,517	<hr/> 1,627,642
<i>Kaski-Lamjang</i>			
Kaski-Lamjang		23,775	139,565
Falawang		790	4,530
Jajarkot		12,137	73,874
Bajhang		5,821	43,043
Bajura		2,483	20,220
		<hr/> 45,006	<hr/> 281,232
TOTALS of Western and Kaski-Lamjang Districts . . . }		<hr/> 323,523	<hr/> 1,908,874

¹ A táo is a sheet of any size.

<i>Eastern</i>	DISTRICT	HOUSES	POPULATION
No. 1		39,669	213,703
No. 2		31,785	177,072
No. 3		20,699	108,106
No. 4		49,958	269,668
Dhankuta		58,784	353,062
Ilam		14,970	87,475
		215,865	1,209,086
Birganj, Bara, Parsa, Ruthat		77,065	414,657
Mahutari and Sarlahi . . .		71,279	471,292
Suptari		62,766	377,855
Udaipur		9,032	48,913
Morang (Birat, Nagar, and Jhapa)		36,257	211,308
Khajahani and Sivaraj . . .		19,156	122,283
Palhi Majkhand		28,644	184,581
Banki, Bardia		17,405	104,466
Kailali, Kanchanpur		4,777	46,816
Makwanpur		10,106	56,516
Kandrang		1,425	9,559
Chitawan		2,088	20,520
Sunar		351	2,728
Surkheta		3,069	17,327
		343,420	2,088,821
Total for the whole Kingdom of Nepal		957,609	5,573,791

N.B.—The figures relating to houses, given in the census of 1920, are taken from the census of 1910, as the figures of 1920 seem to be wrong.

Population of the three Great Towns

	MEN	WOMEN	TOTAL
Katmandu	53,313	55,492	108,805
Patan	53,621	51,307	104,928
Bhatgaon	47,308	45,868	93,176

Population according to Altitude

	MEAN	WOMEN	TOTAL
The Hills . . .	1,553,948	1,477,934	3,031,882
The Valley . . .	185,035	181,975	367,010
The Tarai . . .	1,061,059	1,114,805	2,175,864
For the whole } Kingdom . . }	2,800,042	2,774,714	5,574,756

N.B.—It will be noticed that the total population of Nepal thus divided into areas of altitude differs slightly from that given above, although it professes to be taken from the same census—1920.

APPENDIX VIII

RESIDENTS, ENVOYS, AND RESIDENCY AND LEGATION
SURGEONS

LIST OF RESIDENTS IN NEPAL

1.	Captain Knox	..	..	..	..	1802-03
2.	Lieutenant Boileau (officiating)	..	..	..	..	1816
3.	Hon. E. Gardner, E.I.C.S.	..	..	..	..	1816-29
4.	B. H. Hodgson, E.I.C.S. (officiating)	..	..	..	..	1829-31
5.	Sir H. Maddock, E.I.C.S.	..	..	..	..	1831-33
6.	B. H. Hodgson, E.I.C.S.	..	..	..	..	1833-43
7.	Major H. Lawrence, C.B.	..	..	..	..	1843-46
8.	Lieutenant-Colonel C. Thoresby	..	..	..	..	1846-50
9.	Hon. J. C. Erskine, I.C.S.	..	..	..	..	1850-52
9a.	Dr. Oldfield (nominated Hon. Assistant to Resident)	..	..	..	..	1857-58
10.	Lieutenant-Colonel G. Ramsay	..	..	..	..	1852-67
11.	Lieutenant-Colonel R. C. Lawrence, C.B.	..	..	..	..	1865-72
12.	C. E. R. Girdlestone, I.C.S.	..	..	..	..	1872-88
13.	F. Henvey, I.C.S.	..	..	..	..	1877-78
14.	Lieutenant-Colonel E. C. Impey	..	..	..	..	1878
15.	Major F. A. Wilson	..	..	..	..	1883
16.	Colonel I. C. Berkeley	..	..	..	..	1885-86
17.	Major E. L. Durand	..	..	..	..	1888-91
18.	Major-General H. Wylie, C.S.I.	..	..	..	..	1891-99
19.	Lieutenant-Colonel W. H. C. Wylie, C.I.E.	..	..	..	..	1898
20.	Lieutenant-Colonel A. M. Muir	..	..	..	..	1899
21.	Lieutenant-Colonel W. Loch	..	..	..	..	1899-1901
22.	Lieutenant-Colonel T. C. Pears	1901-02
23.	Lieutenant-Colonel C. W. Ravenshaw	1902-05

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24.	Lieutenant-Colonel J. Manners Smith, V.C., C.V.O., C.I.E.	1905-16
25.	Lieutenant-Colonel F. W. P. Macdonald	1908-09
26.	Lieutenant-Colonel H. L. Showers, C.S.I., C.I.E. ..	1912-13
27.	Lieutenant-Colonel S. F. Bayley	1916-18
28.	Lieutenant-Colonel W. F. T. O'Connor, C.I.E. ..	1918-20

LIST OF BRITISH ENVOYS AT THE COURT OF NEPAL

1.	Lieutenant-Colonel R. L. Kennion, C.I.E.	1920-21
2.	Lieutenant-Colonel W. F. T. O'Connor, C.S.I., C.I.E., C.V.O.	1921-24
3.	W. H. J. Wilkinson, C.I.E., I.C.S. (officiating) ..	1924
4.	Lieutenant-Colonel W. F. T. O'Connor, C.S.I., C.I.E., C.V.O.	1924-25
5.	W. H. J. Wilkinson, C.I.E., I.C.S.	1925 —

LIST OF RESIDENCY SURGEONS IN NEPAL

Dr. Oldfield	1850
Surgeon-Major Wright	1863
Surgeon-Major H. W. Bellew, C.S.I.	1876
Surgeon John Scully	1876
Surgeon Alfred J. Wall, M.D.	1878
Surgeon-Major H. Whitwell	1879
Brigade-Surgeon James Brown, M.D.	1882
Surgeon G. H. D. Gimlette, M.D.	1883
Surgeon R. Shore, M.D.	1888
Surgeon George H. Baker	1888
Surgeon R. Shore, M.D.	1890
Major P. A. Weir, M.B.	1891
Captain W. E. A. Armstrong	1894
Captain J. W. Grant, M.B.	1898
Captain W. E. A. Armstrong	1898
Captain J. M. MacLeod, M.B.	1900
Captain W. E. A. Armstrong	1901
Captain J. H. Hugo, M.B., I.M.S., D.S.O.	1902
Captain P. P. Kilkelly, M.B.	1903
Major P. Carr-White, M.B.	1904
Major H. Burden, M.B.	1907
Lieutenant-Colonel H. E. Drake Brockman	1917
Major E. Owen Thurston	1917

N.B.—Lieutenant-Colonel J. W. Grant, I.M.S., and then Major F. D. S. Fayrer, I.M.S., were posted to Nepal, but were transferred elsewhere before taking charge.

LIST OF RESIDENCY SURGEONS IN NEPAL—*continued*

After Major Thurston, the next Residency Surgeon to take charge was:

Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel T. S. B. Williams,								
I.M.S.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1919
Lieutenant-Colonel R. E. Molcsworth, R.A.M.C.	..	..						1920

LIST OF LEGATION SURGEONS IN NEPAL

Lieutenant-Colonel J. B. Dalzell Hunter,								
O.B.E., I.M.S.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1922

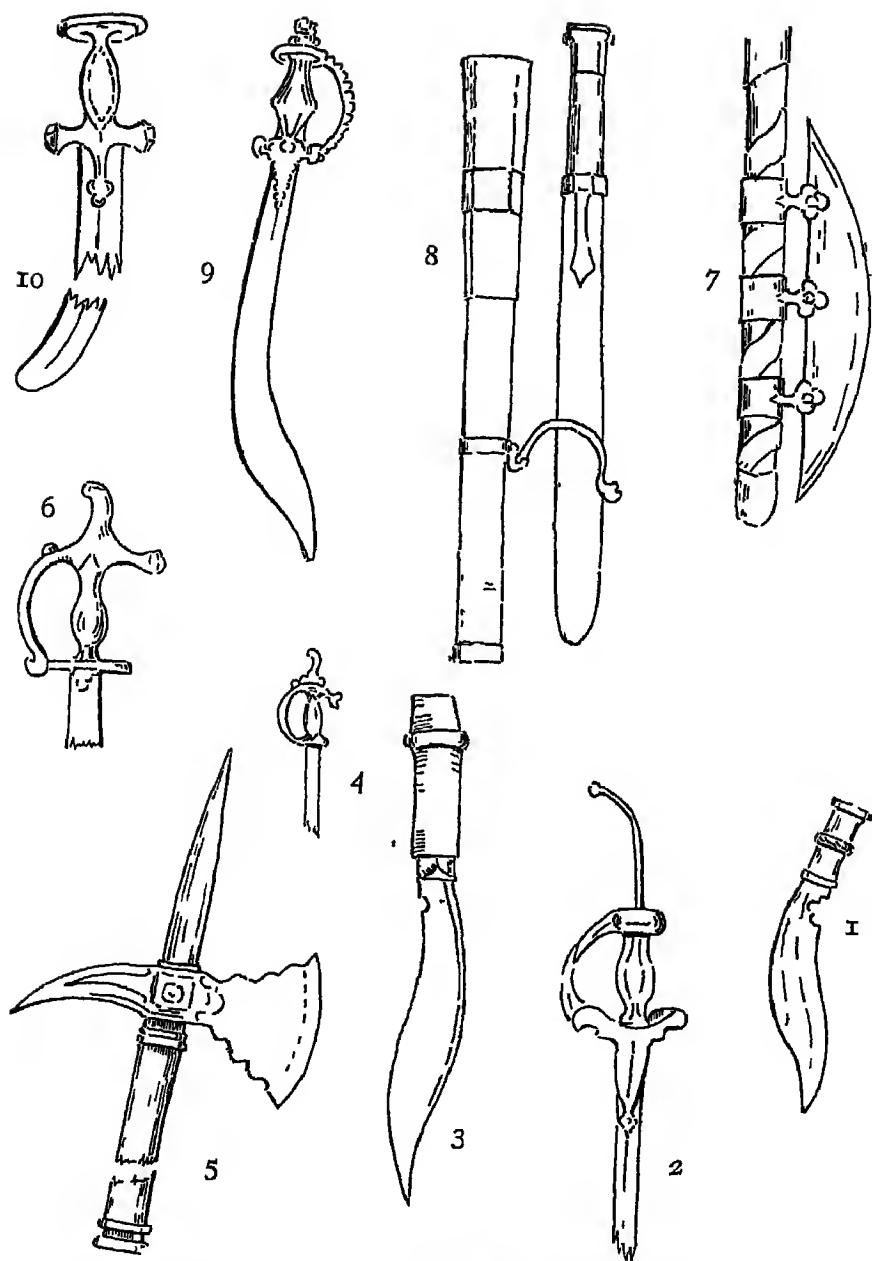
APPENDIX IX

THE ARSENAL MUSEUM

THE Museum of the Arsenal in Katmandu well repays careful study. In general it is, of course, not unlike the ornamental and historical armouries of any other country. Stars and other designs are carried out on the walls by means of swords or bayonets; the whole length of the rooms provides show cases for the display of out-of-date muskets and rifles. A room at the top, which has less of a military aspect than the others, is worth examining, if only because it indicates the intercommunication between Nepal and the royal families of Europe. Many of the things in it to-day would not satisfy the fastidious eye of a modern artist, but, one and all, they represent the taste, either of the royal donor or perhaps, in some cases, the preference of Jang Bahadur in a world of art that was wholly unknown until he made his famous visit to England in 1850.

But among these more conventional exhibits there are many that deserve very careful attention. It is interesting, for example, to note the original form of the famous Nepalese kukhri. This has a blade $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and an ivory handle a shade under 5 inches (No. 3). The blade suggests clearly enough the present shape of the Nepalese kukhri, and is reputed to have been among those taken by Prithwi Narayan at his capture of Katmandu in 1769. It would be interesting to be able to decide the question whether the characteristic weapon of the Gurkhas was adapted from this Malla knife. Near by is another kukhri of exactly the modern shape. The blade is 24 inches in length, and the handle about 5 inches.

The 5 foot sword of Prithwi Narayan is also shown in the same room, together with a most curious halberd (No. 5). In ordinary use this does not differ greatly from any other halberd, though the axe is exquisitely damascened. The originality of this weapon lies in the fact that the first



EXHIBITS IN THE ARSENAL MUSEUM, KATMANDU

stroke releases three separate blades which spring instantly from the axe-head and serve as a kind of complicated bayonet. Not far off is the sword of Damodar Panre. Impressive as this is with its 4 feet $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches of blade and $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches of hilt, it can scarcely have been as effective as a less pretentious weapon (No. 2). A baffling instrument stands near it. It is a sword of leaf shape with an ivory handle set round an octagonal steel mount. There is nothing in the sword itself to excite much interest, but the scabbard, which is set beside it, possesses an extraordinary appendage which may best be seen in the accompanying illustration (No. 8). It has been suggested that the curved bracket was intended to support the arm when weary with fighting. But this is hardly a sufficient explanation of a mechanism which would probably impede a swordsman more than anything else that could by any possibility be contrived. I leave it to my readers to solve the problem.

We now come to the immensely weighty chopper—it can hardly be called anything else—of Mathabar Singh, and the exquisitely tempered sword of Rana Bahadur Sah. The guardian of the Museum explained its quality by bending it clean round his own slim waist until point and hilt overlapped in front. Another sword of this date was shown to me and its excellence exhibited by the deep curve and exactly corresponding re-entrant curve which the blade at once assumed. Not far off was the heading-axe that was used in Katmandu until a comparatively late date. This is a weapon of great weight and strength, as the illustration (No. 7) will show. A curious exhibit in this Museum was that of a whale's rib 17 feet 1 inch in length.

Two relics of Jang Bahadur are kept here. One is an elephant gun made for him, as the inscription shows, by Purday, 304 $\frac{1}{2}$ Oxford Street. It is over 6 feet long, and the bore $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch. Near it is lying a three-barrelled rifle that had also belonged to the famous Maharaja.

Two fine Italian blades are contained in this Museum, and their presence is only to be explained by the Rajput descent of the royal family. The inscriptions upon them—with the exception of the word "patifero"—are almost illegible. One sword (No. 4) is $33\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length and 1 inch in width. The other blade (No. 6) is $34\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length and 1 inch in width. The beauty of the handles will be noted.

Mathabar Singh secured, while in exile in Lahore, a curious sword, apparently of Persian workmanship. The whole length of the steel—which is black in colour—is damascened in gold with figures of fifteen animals. Of Prithwi Narayan, besides the 4 foot ceremonial sword, there are in the Arsenal two interesting relics in the shape of a forward-bending sword—it can hardly be called a kukhri—of which the blade is 25 inches in length. The handle is of elaborately wrought steel (No. 9). Another treasure of the Museum is the same king's kukhri, which has overlapping waves of steel upon the blade, apparently intended to add to the weight of it (No. 1).

An interesting relic of other days, that it would perhaps be impossible to parallel elsewhere, consists of two leather guns (p. 263). It has for

long been a subject of discussion whether, as a matter of fact, the ascription of leather guns to the Tibetans was not due to some mistake of an interpreter or translator. But here in the Katmandu Museum are two specimens that must have been taken from the Tibetans in 1856. The larger is 44 inches long and 20 inches in diameter at the narrowest part. The calibre is 5 inches, and the thickness of the leather $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the muzzle. The



LEATHER GUNS

second is 32.3 inches in length and 18 inches in diameter. The calibre is $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches and the thickness of the leather at the muzzle is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It is commonly said of these weapons that they only survive four discharges, but it is probable that a thin tube of iron took off at least some of the force of the explosion, and it would seem unlikely that the Saddlers' Company of Tibet would have taken the trouble to fashion such cumbrous pieces for so brief a use. There, however, are the guns and, as will be seen, they have been provided with most of the extraordinary appearance of gun-metal or steel weapons. It is to be hoped, however, that the Maharaja will give orders for the display of such unique and interesting relics inside

the Museum itself, and not in the little open court where they now lie exposed to sun and wind and rain. At the Arsenal are also preserved two guns captured in 1815 from the English when Captain Sibley's force was cut up at Parsah.

The oldest piece in the armoury is the sword which belonged, in 1550, to Drabya Sah, the original leader of the Gurkhas into their Nepalese fastness (No. 10). I made a careful attempt to copy, both by eye and by rubbing, the inscription upon this historic blade, which is 32 inches in length. I cannot pretend that the result is satisfactory, as time had eaten so seriously into the metal and I could find no one who was able to reconstruct the original lettering.

But the relics and treasures of the Museum are not exhausted even so. An Englishman will probably receive a start when he is shown into a long narrow room, along the centre of which are ranged seven regimental colours, all of which are those of regiments belonging to the forces of the East India Company. It may be said at once that these represent—though in 1815 the successes of the Gurkhas might well have led to the capture of two or three British flags—only the victories of the Nepalese troops against the rebel regiments of 1857. It will be remembered that, as soon as the forces of Nana Sahib and the half-imbecile Emperor at Delhi realized that the day was lost, thousands of them attempted to escape to the nearest neutral territory, which was Nepal. The Nepalese, now thoroughly stirred by the stories of the brutalities committed by Nana Sahib, set themselves to prevent, by all means in their power, these fugitives from reaching their own frontier, and the flags in the Katmandu Arsenal are a tribute to the thoroughness with which they cut off and annihilated the flying rebel regiments.

It is perhaps a curious thing that the mutinous battalions should have wished to preserve the colours which stood for nothing except loyalty to the Queen. But, whatever the reason, it is certain that, even in their fights against our own forces they still exhibited these symbols of their forgotten loyalty. Those that were captured by the Nepalese show every sign of having been kept with scrupulous care, though in one instance (No. 7) an extensive restoration has been made.

The following valuable notes may help to explain the rough sketches that I was able to make. I am indebted for them to Lieutenant-General Sir John S. M. Shea, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., Adjutant-General in India, and to Colonel J. Loch.

Taking them in the order in which they are displayed in the Museum the colours are as follows:

(1). *8th Oude Irregular Force.*

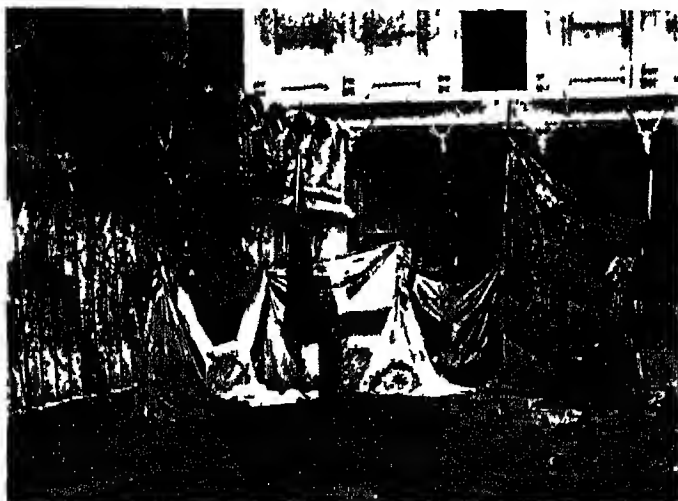
This is a white flag—like other colours of British origin—of rectangular shape. In the upper left-hand corner there is a canton of the Union Jack. In the centre of the flag is a wreath enclosing the arms of the Honourable East India Company. Within the wreath are the words, "Oude Irregular Infantry," and above the wreath the number "VIIIth."

"The battalion was formed in 1856 after the annexation of Oudh. It mutinied at Sultanpur in 1857" (*Bengal Army List*, 1857, pp. 198 (c) and 313).

(2). *3rd Regiment of Native Infantry.*

This is a yellow flag with the Union Jack cantoned as before. The arms of the Honourable East India Company are encircled by a wreath, above which are the words, "Buxar Reg. Native Inf." Below are the honours "Guzerat, Punjaub," given "For services performed in the West of India."

"The only battalion traceable with all three honours Buxar, Guzerat,



COLOURS CAPTURED FROM MUTINEERS 1857-8

Punjaub, is the 3rd Regiment of Native Infantry. Formed in 1763 from independent companies, and called the 10th Regiment. The number was afterwards changed to 1st Battn. 6th Infantry. In 1824 this battalion was given the number 3rd Native Infantry. The 3rd Native Infantry mutinied in Phillour and Ludhiana in 1857" (*The Services of the Bengal Native Army*, pp. 18 and 143: *Bengal Army List*, 1857, pp. 113 and 313).

(3 and 4). *Scindia's 5th Regiment of Infantry.*

No. 3 is a white flag cantoned with the Union Jack. In the middle is a wreath containing the words, "Regiment V Infantry." Above the wreath is the word, "Scindia's," and below the wreath is the word "Contingent."

No. 4 is the most curious of all the flags shown here. Heraldically it could be blazoned thus: Per saltire gules azure gules and argent; a saltire

of the last fimbriated sable. Over all on a canton of pretence of the third, the words " Regiment V Infantry " within a wreath or between. In chief, the word " Scindia's," and in base the word " Contingent." Whether this is intended to represent the Union Jack or not must be left to the reader's decision, but it forms as curious an aberration of regimental heraldry as exists to-day.

" No. 3 is probably the colour granted when taken over for the Honou-able East India Company's service.

" No. 4 is probably the colour granted by Scindia when in his service.

" They mutinied at Augur in 1857." (*Bengal Army List*, 1857, pp. 201, 202, and 313.)

(5 and 6). *48th Regiment of Native Infantry.*

No. 5 is a square or nearly square Union Jack, bearing in the centre a square plaque with the words:

1803	Ghuznee	XLVIII
Afghanistan	Moodkee	Alliwal
	Ferozeshuhur.	

(*The Queen's Colour.*)

No. 6 is a yellow flag cantoned with the Union Jack; within a wreath the same wording as that of the previous flag.

(*The Regimental Colour.*)

" This regiment was raised in 1804 from levies, under the name of the 2/24 N.I.; re-numbered the 48th Native Infantry in 1824. Mutinied at Lucknow in 1857 " (*Bengal Army List*, 1857, pp. 158 and 313; *The Services of the Bengal Native Army*, p. 93).

(7).

This is a plain green flag, cantoned with the Union Jack. It is clear that in this case, though no doubt the green colour has been maintained, the silk itself has been restored by the captors. The colour is not that used by regiments with green facings, nor is the quality of the silk the same as that used by the Regular and Irregular forces of the East India Company. It is impossible now to make sure of the original honours of the flag, as there is no wording of any kind upon it.

" This colour is not traceable from the information given.

" Twenty battalions of the old Bengal Army had green facings, and therefore green colours; viz :

" 6th, 7th, 10th, 13th, 23rd, 28th, 29th, 38th, 39th, 45th, 46th, 51st, 52nd, 9th Mhairwarrah battalion, 3rd Hill Rangers, and the Regiment of Ludhiana Sikhs, all dark green.

" 43rd and 44th N.I., pea green.

" 59th and 60th N.I., Saxon green.

" Of these there is no record of the 9th Mhairwarrah battalion or the 3rd Hill Rangers mutinying or being disbanded. The 39th, 43rd, 44th, and

59th N.I. were disarmed and did not mutiny; it is unlikely therefore that the colours belonged to any of these units. The remaining units mutinied in the places given below. It seems probable that the colours belonged to one of those that mutinied not far from the Nepalese border



THE EARLIEST FLAG OF NEPAL

6th N.I...	..	..	..	..	Allahabad and Futtehpur
7th "	..	..	..	..	Dinapore
10th "	..	..	..	..	Futtehgurh
13th "	..	..	..	..	Lucknow
23rd "	..	..	..	..	Mhow
28th "	..	..	..	..	Shahjehanpore
29th "	..	..	..	..	Moradabad
38th "	..	..	..	..	Delhi
45th "	..	..	..	..	Ferozepore
46th "	..	..	..	..	Sialkote
51st "	..	..	..	..	Peshawar
52nd "	..	..	..	..	Jubbulpore
60th "	..	..	..	..	Rohtuck
Ludhiana Sikhs	..	..	..	..	Benares and Juanpore."

(*Bengal Army List*, 1857, p. 313.)

In the next room are three trophies of a different kind. One is a dragon

flag, probably taken from a Chinese regiment in 1789. The second has two rose-coloured triangles with an indented circle which may serve to represent either the sun or the moon. The third is the original flag borne by Nepal (see p. 267). On a yellow ground a representation of Hanuman is displayed.

APPENDIX X

PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS IN NEPAL

THE pillar at Rummindci, the situation and discovery of which has already been described, bears the following inscription of which, by the courtesy of the Oxford University Press, I am able to reproduce not only the facsimile on page 270, but a translation.

THE RUMMINDEI PILLAR

- 1 (A) देवानपियेन पियदसिन लाजिन वीसतिवसाभिसितेन
- 2 अतन आगाच महीयिते हिद बुधे जाते सक्यमुनी ति
- 3 (B) सिला विगडभी चा कालापित सिलाथभे च उसपापिते
- 4 हिद भगवं जाते ति (C) लुमिनिगामे उबलिके कटे
- 5 अठभागिये च

- 1 (A) Devāna[pi]yena Piyadasina lājina vīsati-vasābhisitena
- 2 atana āgācha mahīyite hida Budhe jāte Sakyamunī ti
- 3 (B) silā vigadabhī chā kālāpita silā-thabhe cha usapāpīte
- 4 hida Bhagavān jāte ti (C) Lūmīni-gāme ubalike kaṭe
- 5 atha-bhāgiye cha

Translation

(A) When king Dēvānānpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed twenty years, he came himself and worshipped [this spot], because the Buddha Sākyamuni was born here.

(B) [He] both caused to be made a stone bearing a horse [?] and caused a stone pillar to be set up (in order to show) that the Blessed one was born here.

(C) [He] made the village of Lūmīni free of taxes, and paying [only] an eighth share [of the produce].

No less an authority than the late Mr. Vincent A. Smith gives a slightly different translation, of which the important variation is that he regards the words "silā vigadabhi cha" as indicating "a great railing of stone."

To anyone who has a personal acquaintance with the site, the absence of this railing is not conclusive against this rendering.

The Oxford interpretation admits that the translation of "bearing a horse" still needs some definite proof that "vigada" meant a horse. It may be said that the division of the two last quoted words is the point over which discussion still centres. Charpentier divides them in the form which has been given, and it is clear that in that form one has to seek for some almost certainly animal interpretation of "vigada." The pillars of Asoka were crowned by representations of animals. Of those that remain the most famous are: The four-lion capital at Sarnath; the four-lion capital at Sanchi; the single-lion capital at Lauriya; the lion capital at Rampurwa; the bull pillar at the same place. It would be interesting to discover the much battered stone which I saw in the courtyard of the shrine in 1908 in close proximity to the Persian capital, as this might decide once for all whether Asoka's pillar here was or was not surmounted by a horse.

Another difference is that Mr. Smith interprets the grant with which this inscription closes as "free of religious cesses and declared entitled to the eighth share [of the produce claimed by the Crown]." The Oxford editor agrees with Thomas (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1914, pp. 391 f.) in believing that "bhagiya" must mean "pay a share" and not, as Smith and Fleet thought, "entitled to a share." It is impossible to guess what Asoka himself actually intended, and the author of the Oxford book satirically remarks that in the case of the village of Lummini, bureaucracy prevailed against charity.

NAGALI SAGAR INSCRIPTION

This, the only other known inscription set up by Asoka in Nepal, also reproduced on page 270, is as follows:

THE NAGALI SAGAR PILLAR

1 (A) देवानंपियेन पियदसिन लाजिन चोदसवसाभिसितेन

2 बुधस कोनाकमनस युवे दुतियं वढिते

3 (B) साभिसितेन च अतन आगाच महीयिते

4 पापिते

1 (A) Devānāmpiyena Piyadasina lājina chodasa-vasā[bh]i[sī]t[e]n[a]

2 Budhasa Konākamanasa thube dūtiyaṃ vadhite

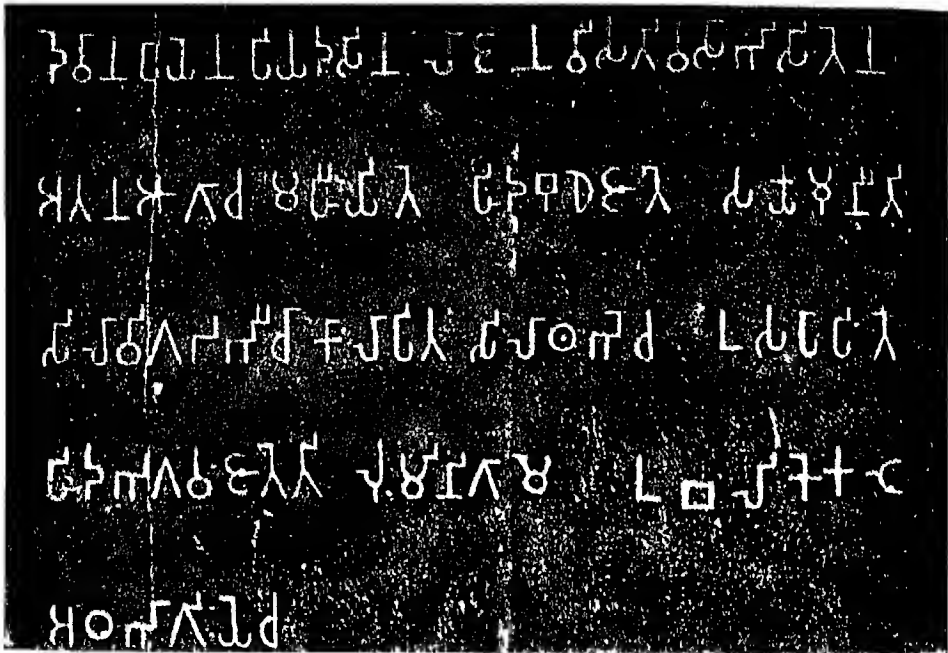
3 (B) sābhisitena cha atana āgācha mahīyita

4 pāpita

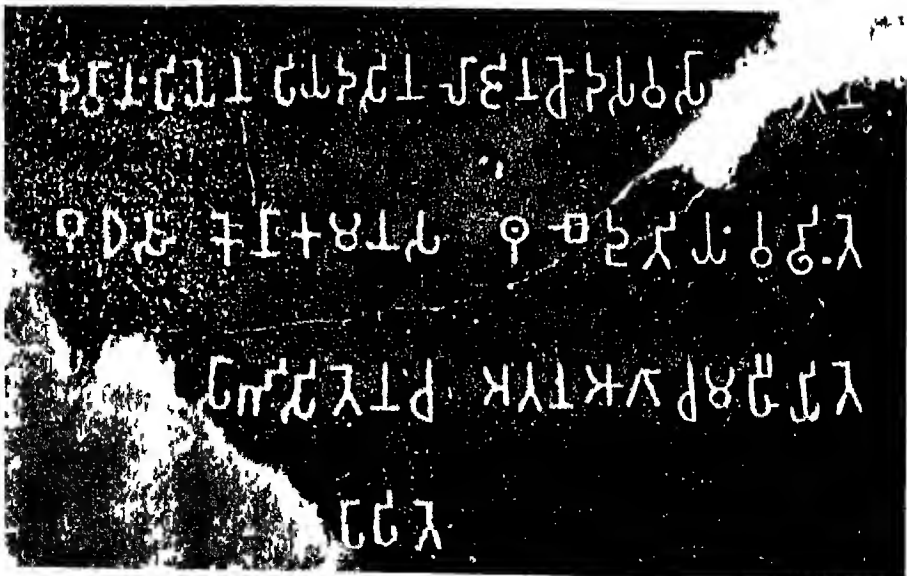
Translation

(A) When king Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin had been anointed fourteen years, he enlarged the *Stūpa* of the Buddha Kōnāgamana to the double [of its original size].

PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS



RUMMINDEI



NAGALI SAGAR

(B) And when he had been anointed [twenty] years, he came himself and worshipped (this spot) [and] caused [a stone pillar to be set up].

Here again Mr. Smith is in slight disagreement with the Oxford translation. In his opinion "dutyam" meant that Asoka, six years before the erection of the pillar, enlarged "for the second time" the stupa of Buddha Konakamana. The Oxford interpretation seems unquestionably superior in view of similar expressions in the inscription at Sahasram.

These are the only two inscriptions by Asoka in the present limits of Nepal, but it is extremely probable that careful research, carried out by qualified archaeological experts, may discover several more. The more likely places are at the hitherto unidentified stupa of the Buddha Kasyapa. Mr. Smith makes the sensible note that the probable reason why Hsüan Tsang ignores the many inscriptions of Asoka that were scattered through the present territories of India and Nepal, was that nine centuries after the execution of the inscriptions, nobody could read them.

APPENDIX XI

SOME OF THE MORE IMPORTANT BOOKS AND ARTICLES ON NEPAL (IN ORDER OF DATE)

- KIRKPATRICK (W. J.). Account of the Kingdom of Nepal. 1811.
 HAMILTON (F.). Account of the Kingdom of Nepal. 1819.
 FRASER (J. B.). Journal of a tour through part of the snowy range of the Himalaya Mountains. 1820.
 HODGSON (B. H.). On the administration of Justice in Nepal (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xx, part 1, 1836).
 HODGSON (B. H.). Comparative Vocabulary of the languages of the tribes of Nepal in his *Miscellaneous Essays on Indian Subjects*.
 HODGSON (B. H.). Some account of the systems of law and police as recognized in Nepal (*Miscellaneous Essays on Indian Subjects*).
 EGERTON (F.). Journal of a winter's tour in India with a visit to the Court of Nepal. 1852, 2 vols.
 Nepal in *Blackwood's Magazine*, vol. lxxii (1852).
 HODGSON (B. H.). Essays on the languages of Nepal and Tibet. 1874.
 WHEELER (J. T.). Short History of India and of the other frontier states of Afghanistan, Nepal, and Burma. 1880.
 OLDFIELD (H. A.). Sketches from Nipal historical and descriptive, with anecdotes of Court Life, and Wild Sports of the country . . . to which is added an essay on Nipalese Buddhism. 1880, 2 vols.
 BENDALL (C.). Journey of Research in Nepal. Cambridge, 1886.
 TEMPLE (SIR R.). Journals kept in Hyderabad and Nepal. 2 vols., 1887.

- HUNTER (SIR W. W.). Life of B. H. Hodgson, British Resident at the Court of Nepal. London, 1896.
- QUIN (E. W.). Sport in Nepal (*Nineteenth Century*, vol. xxvi, 1899, p. 60).
- BALLANTINE (H.). On India's frontier or Nepal. The Gurkhas' Mysterious Land. 1896.
- UDDHAVA SIMHA. The Gurkha Conquest of Arki. Punjab Printing Works, Lahore, 1903.
- LEVI (S.). Le Népal, Étude Historique, 1905, Paris Musée Guimet Annales. Bibliothèque d'Études.
- LANDOR (A. H. S.). Tibet and Nepal painted and described. London, 1905.
- VANSITTART (E.). Gurkhas. Government Printing Office, 1906.
- BROWN (P.). Picturesque Nepal. A. and C. Black, 1912.
- MASSIEU (I.). Nepal et Pays himalayens. 1914.

APPENDIX XII

CATALOGUE OF PAPERS BY B. H. HODGSON ON MAMMALS AND BIRDS

Taken from the Royal Society Catalogue of Scientific papers

1. Account of the Chiru, or Unicorn of the Himalaya Mountains (Pantholops Hodgsoni). Tilloch, *Phil. Mag.*, vol. lxxviii (1826), pp. 232-234. *Edinb. Journ. Sci.*, vol. vii (1827), pp. 163, 164. Ferussac, *Bull. Sci. Nat.*, vol. xv (1828), p. 141. Froriep, *Notizen*, vol. xv (1826), pp. 274-276.
2. Sur la Portée du Rhinoceros. Ferussac, *Bull. Sci. Nat.*, vol. vii (1826), pp. 436, 437. Froriep, *Notizen*, vol. xiv (1826), col. 55, 56.
3. On the Growth and Habits of a Young Rhinoceros. *Edinb. Journ. Sci.*, vol. vii (1827), pp. 165, 166.
4. On a New Species of Buceros (B. Nepalensis). *Gleanings in Science*, vol. i (1829), pp. 249-252.
5. On the Chiru, or Antelope Hodgsonii, Abel. *Gleanings in Science*, vol. ii (1830), pp. 348-351.
6. On the Bubaline Antelope (Antelope Thar). *Gleanings in Science*, vol. iii (1831), pp. 122, 123, 327.
7. Some Account of a New Species of Felis (F. Moormensis). *Gleanings in Science*, vol. iii (1831), pp. 177, 178.
8. On some of the Scolopacidae of Nepal. *Gleanings in Science*, vol. iii (1831), pp. 233-243.
9. Contributions in Natural History (the Musk Deer and Cervus jarai). *Gleanings in Science*, vol. iii (1831), pp. 320-324.
10. Description and Characters of the Chiru Antelope (Antelope Hodgsonii, Abel). *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, vol. i (1831), pp. 52-54.

11. Note relative to the Account of the Jarai. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. i (1832), pp. 66, 67.
12. Further Illustrations of the Antelope Hodgsonii, Abel. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. i (1832), pp. 59-63; *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, vol. i (1833), pp. 110, 111.
13. On the Mammalia of Nepal. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. i (1832), pp. 335-348.
14. Characters and Descriptions of New Species of Mammalia and Birds from Nepal (*Felis Moormensis*, *Antelope bubalina*, *Buceros Nepalensis*). *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, vol. ii (1832), pp. 10-16; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xviii (1833), pp. 178-186.
15. On a New Species of *Buceros* (*B. Nepalensis*), Dhancesa, Ind. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xviii (1833), pp. 178-186.
16. On a Species of *Aquila* (*circaetus*) and *Dicrurus*. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xviii (1833), pt. 2, pp. 13-26.
17. On the Migration of the *Natatores* and *Grallatores*, as observed at Katmandu. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xviii (1838), pt. 2, pp. 122-128.
18. The Wild Goat (*Capra Jharai*) and the Wild Sheep (*Ovis Nayaur*) of Nepal. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xviii (1833), pt. 2, pp. 129-138.
19. On the Ratwa Deer of Nepal (*Cervus Ratwa*). *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xviii (1833), pt. 2, pp. 139-149.
20. Description of the *Buceros* *Homrai* of the Himalaya; with Anatomical Observations by Dr. M. T. Bramley. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xviii (1833), pt. 2, pp. 168-188.
21. Characters of a New Species of *Perdix* (*P. Lerwa*). *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, vol. i (1833), p. 107.
22. Description of the Wild Dog of the Himalaya (*Canis primaevus*). *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xviii (1833), pt. 2, pp. 221-237.
23. Description and Characters of the Wild Dog of Nepal (*Canis primaevus*). *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, vol. i (1833), pp. 111, 112.
24. Note on the Chiru Antelope (*Gazella Hodgsoni*, Abel). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. i, pp. 59, 66; vol. iii, p. 138.
25. Letter on the Distinction between the Ghoral (*Antelope goral*, Hardw.) and Thar (*Antelope Thar*, Hodgs.). *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, vol. ii (1834), pp. 85-87. *Oken, Isis*, 1835, col. 1039.
26. On the Mammalia of Nepal. *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, vol. ii (1834), pp. 95-99.
27. On the Characters of the Jharal (*Capra Jharal*, Hodgs.), and of the Nahoor (*Ovis Nahoor*, Hodgs.), with Observations on the Distinction between the Genera *Capra* and *Ovis*. *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, vol. ii (1834), pp. 106-110. *Forriep, Notizen*, vol. xlv (1835), col. 129-134. *L'Institut*, vol. iii (1835), pp. 121-123.
28. Description of the Bearded Vulture of the Himalaya (*Gypaetos* [*Vultur*] *barbatus*). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. iv (1835), pp. 454-457. *Bibl. Univ.*, vol. viii (1837), p. 212.
29. Red-billed Erolia. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. iv (1835), pp. 458-461.
30. Synopsis of the Thar and Ghoral Antelopes. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. iv (1835), pp. 487-489.

31. On the Wild Goat and Wild Sheep of the Himalaya, with Remarks on the Genera Capra and Ovis. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. iv (1835), pp. 490-494, 710. *Ann. Sci. Nat.*, vol. v (Zool.) (1836), pp. 299, 300.
32. Specific Description of a New Species of Cervus (C. elaphoides). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. iv (1835), pp. 648, 649; vol. v (1836), pp. 240-242.
33. Synopsis of the Vespertilionidae of Nepal. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. iv (1835), pp. 699, 700.
34. Note on the Red-billed Iroliia, or Clorhynchus strophuatus. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. iv (1835), p. 701.
35. Description of the Little Musteline Animal (Putorices Kathiah) denominated Kathiah Nyul in the Catalogue of the Nepalese Mammalia. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. iv (1835), pp. 702, 703. With Postscript to the Account of the Wild Goat of Nepal. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. iv (1835), p. 710.
36. Indication of a New Genus of the Carnivora (Ursitaxus inauritus), with Description of the Species on which it is founded. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xix (1836), pp. 60-69.
37. Description of the Three New Species of Paradoxurus (P. hirsutus, P. Nepalensis, P. lunigerus). *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xix (1836), pp. 72-87.
38. Notices of the Ornithology of Nepal. *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xix (1836), pp. 143-192.
39. Description of a New Species of Columba (C. Nepalensis). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. v (1836), pp. 122, 123.
40. Summary Description of some New Species of Falconidae. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. v (1836), pp. 227-230.
41. Synoptical Description of Sundry New Animals enumerated in the Catalogue of Nepalese Mammals. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. v (1836), pp. 231-238.
42. Notes on the Cervus Duvaucelii, Cuvier, or C. elaphoides and Bahraiya, Hodgs. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. v (1836), pp. 240-242. *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, vol. iv (1836), pp. 46, 47.
43. Description of Two New Species belonging to a New Form of the Meruline Group of Birds, with Indication of their Generic Character (Cochoa purpurea, C. viridis). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. v (1836), pp. 358, 359.
44. On a New Genus and Species of the Meropidae (Bucia Nepalensis). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. v (1836), pp. 360, 361.
45. On a New Piscatory Genus of the Strigine Family (Cultrungus flavipes). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. v (1836), pp. 363, 364.
46. Postscript to the Account of Ursitaxus (Meles Labradorius) printed in the sixth vol. of the *Asiatic Researches*. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. v (1836), p. 671.
47. Note on Zoological Nomenclature. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. v (1836), pp. 751, 752.

48. Additions to the Ornithology of Nepal. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. v (1836), pp. 770-774.
49. On some of the Scolopacidae of Nepal. *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, vol. iv (1836), pp. 7, 8.
50. On the Lachrymal Sinus in Antelope Thar and Cervus Aristotelis. *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, vol. iv (1836), pp. 39, 40.
51. On Seven New Species of Vespertilionidae observed in the Central Region of Nepal. *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, vol. iv (1836), p. 46.
52. On Three New Genera or Sub-genera of Long-legged Thrushes (*Tesia nobis*, *Larvivora*, *Paludicola*), with Descriptions of their Species. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. vi (1837), pp. 101-103.
53. Description of Three New Species of Woodpecker (*Picus aultaneus*, *Vivia Nepalensis*, *Picus pyrrhotis*) and of *Malacolophus melanochrysos*. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. vi (1837), pp. 104-109.
54. Indication of a New Genus of Insectorial Birds (*Cutia*). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. vi (1837), pp. 110-112.
55. On a New Genus of the Sylviadac, with Description of Three New Species (*Yuhina gularis*, *Y. occipitalis*, *Y. flavicollis*). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. vi (1837), pp. 230-232.
56. On some New Genera of Raptores, with Remarks on the Old Genera. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. vi (1837), pp. 361-373.
57. New Species of Scolopacidae (Indian Snipes). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. vi (1837), p. 489.
58. Description of the Gauri Gau of the Nepal Forest (*Bibos subhemachalus*). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. vi (1837), p. 499. Wiegmann, *Archiv*, vol. vi (1840), pp. 263-267.
59. On a New Genus of the Plantigrades (*Urva cancrivora*), with an Appendix by A. Campbell. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. vi (1837), pp. 560-565.
60. On the Bibos, Gauri Gau, or Gaurika Gau of the Indian Forests (*Bibos cavifrons*, *B. classicus*, *B. Aristotelis*). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. vi (1837), pp. 745-749.
61. Indication of a New Genus belonging to the Strigine Family, with Description of the New Species and Type. *Madras Journ.*, vol. v (1837), pp. 23-26.
62. On Two New Genera of Rasorial Birds (*Lerva*, *Arborophila*). *Madras Journ.*, vol. v (1837), pp. 300-306.
63. On the Structure and Habits of the *Elanus melanopterus*. *Madras Journ.*, vol. vi (1837), pp. 75-78.
64. On a New Species of Phcasant (*Phasianus crossoptilon*) from Tibet. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. vii (1838), pp. 863, 864.
65. On a New Genus and Two Species of the Fissirostral Tribe (*Raya sericeogula*, *R. rubropygea*). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. viii (1839), pp. 35, 36.
66. (Three) New Species of Meruline Birds (*Sibia picoides*, *S. nigriceps*, *S. Nepalensis*). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. viii (1839), p. 37.

67. On *Cuculus* (*Pseudornis*) *dicruroides*. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. viii (1839), pp. 136, 137.
68. On Three New Species of Musk (*Moschus*) inhabiting the Himalayan Districts (*M. chrysogaster*, *M. leucogaster*, *M. saturatus*). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. viii (1839), p. 202.
69. Summary Description of Four New Species of Otter. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. viii (1839), pp. 319, 320. *Ann. Nat. Hist.*, vol. v (1840), p. 27.
70. On the Common Hare of the Gangetic Provinces, and of the Sub-Himalaya; with a Slight Notice of a Strictly Himalayan Species. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. ix (1840), pp. 1183-1186. *Ann. Nat. Hist.*, vol. viii (1842), pp. 231-234.
71. Three New Species of Monkey (*S. schistaceus*, *hodie* *Pithex oinops*, *P. pelops*), with Remarks on the Genera *Semnopithecus* and *Macacus* (*Pithex, nobis*). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. ix (1840), pp. 1211-1213.
72. Classical Terminology of Natural History. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. x (1841), pp. 26-29.
73. On the Two Wild Species of Sheep (*Ovis ammonoides*, *O. Nahoar*) inhabiting the Himalayan Region, with some Brief Remarks on the Craniological Character of *Ovis* and its Allies. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. x (1840), pp. 230-234.
74. Illustrations of the Genera of the Bovinæ. Part I, Skeletons of *Bos*, *Bibos*, and *Bison*, the Individuals examined being the Common Bull of Nepal, the Gowri Gao of Nepal, and the Yak. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. x (1841), pp. 449-470.
75. Note on the *Cervus elaphus* (*elaphoides*?) of the Saul Forest of Nepal (*hodie* *C. affinis, nobis*). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. x (1841), pp. 721-724.
76. Notice of the Marmot (*Arctomys Himalayanus*) of the Himalaya and Tibet. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. x (1841), pp. 777, 778.
77. On a New Organ in the Genus *Moschus*. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. x (1841), pp. 795, 796.
78. On a New Species of *Lagomys* inhabiting Nepal (*Lagomys Nepalensis, nobis*). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. x (1841), pp. 854, 855. *Ann. Nat. Hist.*, vol. x (1842), pp. 76, 77.
79. Notice of a New Form of the Glaukopinae, or Rasorial Crows, inhabiting the Northern Region of Nepal—*Conostoma aemodius* (*Nobis, type*). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. x (1841), pp. 856, 857. *Ann. Nat. Hist.*, vol. x (1842), pp. 77-79.
80. Classified Catalogue of Mammals of Nepal (corrected to end of 1841, first printed in 1832). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. x (1841), pt. 2, pp. 907-916. *Calcutta Journ. Nat. Hist.*, vol. ii (1842), pp. 212-221; vol. iv (1844), pp. 284, 285.
81. Notice of the Mammals of Tibet. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. xi (1842), pp. 275-288.
82. On the Civet of the Continent of India, *Viverra orientalis* (*hodie melanurus*). *Calcutta Journ. Nat. Hist.*, vol. ii (1842), pp. 47-56.

83. On a New Species of *Prionodon* (*P. pardicolor*) *Calcutta Journ. Nat. Hist.*, vol. ii (1842), pp. 57-60.
84. New Species of *Rhizomys* discovered in Nepal (*R. badius*, Bay Bamboo Rat). *Calcutta Journ. Nat. Hist.*, vol. ii (1842), pp. 60, 61, 410, 411.
85. European Notices of Indian Canines, with Further Illustrations of the New Genus *Cuon* vel *Chrysacus*. *Calcutta Journ. Nat. Hist.*, vol. ii (1842), pp. 205-209.
86. On a New Species of *Mustela* (?) known to the Nepalese Commerce as the Chuakhali *Mustela* (?) *Calotus, nobis*. *Calcutta Journ. Nat. Hist.*, vol. ii (1842), pp. 221-223.
87. Appendix to Account of *Cuon primaevus*, the Wild Dog, or Buansu. *Calcutta Journ. Nat. Hist.*, vol. ii (1842), pp. 412-414.
88. Description of a New Genus of Falconidae (*Aquila pernigra*). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. xii (1843), pp. 127, 128.
89. Catalogue of Nepalese Birds. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. xii (1843), pp. 301-313, 447-450.
90. Notice of Two Marmots found in Tibet (*Arctomys Himalayanus* of Catalogue, potius *Tibetensis*, *hodie mihi*, and *A. Hemachalanus*). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. xii (1843), pp. 409-414.
91. On a New Species of *Cervus* (*C. dimorphe*). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. xii (1843), pp. 889-898.
92. Summary Description of Two New Species of Flying Squirrel (*Sciuropterus chrysotrix*, *Sc. senex*). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. xiii (1844), pp. 67, 68.
93. On the Leiotrichane Birds of the Sub-Himalayas, with some Additions and Annotations: a Synopsis of the Indian Parí, and of the Indian Fringilidae, by E. Blyth. *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. xiii (1844), pt. 2, pp. 933-963.
94. On the Rats, Mice, and Shrews of the Central Region of Nepal. *Ann. Nat. Hist.*, vol. xv (1845), pp. 266-270.
95. Characters of Six New Species of Nepalese Birds. *Ann. Nat. Hist.*, vol. xv (1845), pp. 326, 327.
96. On Nepalese Birds. *Zool. Soc. Proc.*, vol. xiii (1845), pp. 22-38.
97. Description of a New Species of Tibetan Antelope (*Procapra picticaudata*). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. xv (1846), pp. 334-338.
98. On the Wild Sheep of Tibet, with Plates (*Ovis ammonoides*, *mihi*). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. xv (1846), pp. 338-343.
99. On a New Form of the Hog Kind or Suidae (*Porcula Salvania*, Pigmy Hog). *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Beng.*, vol. xvi (1847), pp. 593, 594.
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APPENDIX XIII

FAUNA OF NEPAL

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INTRODUCTION

NO account of the natural history of Nepal would be complete which did not mention Brian Houghton Hodgson, to whose labours we are indebted for almost all that is known, even to the present day, of the natural history of this wonderful country.

Hodgson was appointed Assistant Resident in Nepal in 1822; in 1833 he succeeded Sir Herbert Maddock as Resident and continued as such till 1843. After a year of retirement he returned to India in 1845. It was his intention to return to Nepal, but as the necessary permission for his residence in the State in a private capacity was not forthcoming, he lived at Darjiling in the neighbouring province of Sikkim, a country closely resembling Nepal in its climate, physical character, and its animal and plant life. After fifteen years' residence in Darjiling, Hodgson left India for good in 1858 and passed away on the 23rd May 1894 in his ninety-fifth year.

Hodgson's vast collections of specimens, his drawings and manuscripts, have been distributed among the great libraries and museums of England and the Continent. In addition to the specimens which he presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Museum of the East India Company, and other public institutions between the years 1827 and 1843, he made two magnificent donations to the British Museum. The two collections placed at the disposal of the Museum, from which it made its selections, included 9,512 specimens of birds, 903 of mammals, and 84 reptiles.

The available literature on the mammalia of Nepal is indeed comprised mainly of Hodgson's writings. His observations on the mammals of this country and of the neighbouring province of Sikkim laid the foundation of Himalayan mammalogy. Between the years 1830 and 1843 Hodgson

contributed no less than eighty papers on mammals to scientific bodies, mainly to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; these observations include descriptions of thirty-nine new genera and species discovered by him. But though Hodgson's researches and collections are described as having "laid the foundations of Himalayan Manniology," the proper



L. Starr-Cassman

[Nat. Portrait Gallery]

SIR BRIAN HOUGHTON HODGSON, F.R.S.

study of this material has been handicapped from the imperfect labelling of his specimens, so that a modern collection from the State of Nepal remained for many years a great desideratum.

The Bombay Natural History Society had between the years 1912 and 1924 conducted a survey of the mammals of India, Burma, and Ceylon, and although collections had been obtained from the neighbouring provinces

of Kumaon and Sikkim, the much desired opportunity of making a collection within the State of Nepal was not forthcoming until, in 1921, thanks to the kindness of the Prime Minister of Nepal, permission was accorded to the Society to send Mr. N. A. Baptista, a trained Indian collector, into Nepal for the purpose of making a systematic collection of mammals from within the borders of the State. Baptista collected in Nepal during 1921-22 and again between 1922 and 1923. The entire material thus obtained was forwarded to the British Museum, and as a result a complete list of the mammals of Nepal, which includes species recorded by Hodgson, was published by Messrs. M. A. C. Hinton and T. B. Fry in the *Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society* (vol. xxix, p. 399), while a supplementary report by Mr. Fry appeared in a subsequent issue (vol. xxx, no. 3).

Hodgson's greatest contribution to zoology is to be found, however, not in the department of mammals, but rather in the domain of bird life. During his residence at Katmandu he was able to record the occurrence of no less than 563 different species of birds in the State of Nepal; of these quite 150 species were new to the avifauna of the Indian Empire.

Hodgson at one time contemplated publishing a work on the vertebrate fauna of Nepal, but this did not materialize, and the drawings, prepared by native artists under his supervision, were presented to the British Museum and the Zoological Society of London. The originals, consisting of 1,241 illustrations of birds and 567 of mammals, went to the Zoological Society, while 2,000 folio sheets, mostly copies, he handed over to the British Museum.

Subsequent to Hodgson further contributions to the ornithology of the State were made by John Scully, whose writings on the fauna of Nepal include a list of birds observed by him in Nepal during his two years of residence in the State (*Stray Feathers*, vol. viii, 1879). His notes have been a great assistance in compiling the present list of Nepalese birds. Mr. Herbert Stevens' *Notes on the Birds of the Sikkim Himalayas*, published in the *Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society* (vols. xxix and xxx), were also instrumental in supplying information on the occurrence and altitudinal distribution of species which occur in the eastern limits of Nepal. Finally the collection of birds made in Nepal by Col. R. L. Kennion, C.I.E., F.Z.S., and the Society's collector, Baptista, in Nepal, during the years 1920 and 1921, which were examined and identified at the British Museum, were of value in confirming the status and distribution of a large number of species.

The catalogue of the Hodgson collection published by the British Museum in 1863 (second edition) mentions thirty-three species of reptiles. The species recorded as occurring within the State must form a very small proportion of the reptiles which actually occur, and in the present list we have indicated the species which, from their general geographical distribution, are likely to inhabit the country.

It should be noted, however, that, at the time when the catalogues of Hodgson's Nepal collections were compiled, insufficient attention was paid to the recording of the locality from which a specimen was obtained, and,

as a result, a certain number of mammals, birds, and reptiles, obtained by Hodgson in Bihar and Sikkim, were included in the catalogues of his collections from Nepal.

Further it should be noted that these lists of specimens collected in Nepal and also subsequent collections refer mainly to the Valley of Katmandu, Eastern Nepal and the Tarai, and practically nothing is known of the zoology of Central and Western Nepal.

To the naturalist Nepal, with its wonderful variety of climate and vegetation, is one of the most interesting countries in the world, for not only does its fauna vary with the wide range of altitude of its mountains, but it also varies strikingly as one proceeds from East to West.

The central position of Nepal in the Great Himalayan Chain makes it the meeting-ground of East and West Himalayan races, so that, without actual examination and comparison, it is impossible to assign correctly the race to which a given species belongs; in the accompanying list the racial status of the various species has been omitted except in instances where these have been verified.

In treating of its natural productions Hodgson found it convenient to divide the country into three zones or regions:

1. The Lower region includes the plains, the Tarai, and the forest-clad slopes of the lower hills up to an altitude of 4,000 feet.
2. The Central region comprises the high-lying valleys and central ranges of mountains from 4,000 to 10,000 feet.
3. The Northern or Alpine region contains the main Himalayan Chain towering from 10,000 to 20,000 feet.

These three zones support in general a fauna which is characteristic of three distinct zoo-geographical regions—the lowest is Cis-gangetic or Indian, the central is Trans-Gangetic or Himalayan, while the northern is mainly Palaearctic.

Hodgson's "lower region" consists of a strip of land some twenty to thirty miles wide forming the southern boundary of the State. It is composed partly of open flat country and partly of forest-covered hills and valleys. The richly cultivated plains of Nepal, which extend from the southern frontier of the State for about ten miles inland, are succeeded by a strip of low-lying land, which borders the forest and the foothills. This strip is the true Tarai, which, particularly in the Eastern portions of the State, is composed of swampy tracts, overrun with tall grass and rank vegetation. Beyond the Tarai the forest—the "*Jhari*" or "*Bhavar*" of the Nepalese—rises abruptly and stretches from east to west. It is composed mainly of Sal trees (*Shorea robusta*) intermingled with *Simal* (Silk Cotton, *Bombax malabaricum*) with a comparatively slight undergrowth of grass and scrub. This forest covers the slopes of the Siwaliks—the sandstone range bordering the northern margin of the Tarai—and clothes the great sub-Himalayan valleys—the "duns," which lie beyond. Its climate is similar to that of the Indian plains with some increase of heat and a great excess of moisture. The fauna and flora it supports is similar in

character to that which is to be found in the main Indian region. The Mammals which inhabit it are practically the same as those found in Bengal. Among the larger animals Elephant, Rhinoceros, and Sambar are characteristic. With these occur Buffalo, Chital, Hog Deer and Swamp Deer; in the hills the Indian Bison or Gaur replaces the Buffalo, and the characteristic swamp-living animals of the Tarai are of course absent.

The Bird life of this region is much the same as that found in the more humid forests of the Malabar Coast and Assam. It is rich in characteristic forms such as Hornbills, Barbets, Fruit Pigeons, Bulbuls, and Woodpeckers. In the cultivated area and on the edge of the forest some of the more common birds of the Indian plains are to be found, whilst many wading birds and water fowl spend the winter amongst its streams and marshes. A favourite haunt of these birds is a small but deep lake within the forest two or three miles west of Bichako, which Scully found tenanted during winter by great numbers of swimming birds. The cold season also occasions the migration to the lower region of many species which breed in the mountains and descend to the lower hills and plains for the winter.

The Reptiles include several species of lizards and snakes which are common in the main peninsula.

The central region is described as a "clusterous succession of mountains varying in elevation from 4,000-10,000 feet with a temperature from 10-20 degrees lower than the plains." It includes the Mahabharat range which rises to 8,000 feet to form a continuous barrier stretching across the country from east to west. At intervals this mountain wall is pierced by the gorges of transverse rivers. Between the Mahabharat range and the main Himalayan chain lies the great populous valley in which Katmandu, the capital of Nepal, is situated. The Valley is the best known part of the State. The fauna of the central zone is characteristically Himalayan. Many of the species occurring in this region, if not peculiar to Nepal, are at least peculiar to the State and neighbouring Himalayan provinces. The fauna is marked by the absence of characteristically Indian animals and by the presence of such forms as Ferrets, Badgers, Racoons, Crestless Porcupines, etc., which do not occur in the Indian peninsula, while whole genera of birds, such as *Yuhina*, *Siva*, *Minla*, *Ixulus*, etc., are nearly, if not quite, restricted to this region. During migration many of the wading and swimming birds remain in the central Valley for short periods during their passage to and from the Indian plains. The majority of reptiles occurring in this zone are of purely Himalayan species.

Hodgson's northern region commences on the inner hills at about 11,000 feet and has nothing tropical about it except perhaps the succession of seasons. Within the zone the forest is principally composed of Coniferae, Scrubby Rhododendrons, etc., and it is not until we get above the tree level—about 12,000-13,000 feet—that any open country is found. In this region the fauna gradually changes, the oriental forms disappearing and being replaced by Palaearctic types. Among the characteristic larger animals are the Yak, Bharal, Ibex, and Tahr. The pine forests contain many species of Warblers, Tits, and Finches which breed here, but the

various species of Laughing Thrushes which form so marked a feature of the bird life of the lower regions are conspicuous by their absence. In Eastern Nepal, however, the Black-faced Laughing Thrush (*T. affinis*) is found right up to the snow line. Above the tree limit birds become scarce. The kinds more commonly met with are Accentors, Ravens, Dippers, Wall-creeper and, that most beautiful of Alpine birds, Hodgson's Grandala (*G. coelicolor*). The little Nepalese Wren (*T. nepalensis*) is found among the rocky cracks above 12,000 feet and flocks of Snow Pigeon (*C. leuconota*) are not uncommon. Monals, Tragopans, Blood and Cheer Pheasants, and Snow Cock occur within the zone.¹

MAMMALS

PRIMATES

Three species of monkeys occur in Nepal. The Rhesus (*Macaca mulata*), the Assam Maccac (*Macaca assamensis*), and the Himalayan Langur (*Semnopithecus schistaceus*). The Rhesus is the common monkey of the Tarai and the lower hills and occurs also in the central Valley. Large flocks of them are seen in the neighbourhood of cultivation and on the banks of streams. The Assam Maccac, a much larger monkey with huge canine teeth, inhabits, according to Hodgson, the northern region. Its general colouring is bluish grey—sometimes tawny or quite black on the shoulders. Unlike the Rhesus the Assam Maccac is essentially a forest monkey. The distribution of the Himalayan Langur in Nepal is peculiar, usually inhabiting high elevations in the Himalayas (7,000-12,000 feet). This Langur has been observed not only in the northern and central regions, but is also common in the cultivated plains and in the forested slopes of the lower hills. It is a very handsome long-tailed monkey—the silvery-white colouring of its head serving to distinguish it from the common Langur of the Indian plains.

CHIROPTERA (Bats)

The large fruit-eating bats (*Megachiroptera*) which occur in the Nepal Valley appear to be found there more commonly in the autumn when they come up from the plains and the lower valleys in large numbers to plunder the fruit-gardens and orchards. Among these Leschenault's Fruit Bat (*Rousettus leschenaulti*) is considered "a perfect pest." A race of the common Flying Fox (*Pteropus giganteus leucocephalus*) is common in the Tarai but apparently rare in the hills. The Malay Short-Nosed Fruit Bat

¹ In stating the altitudinal range of the various species in the accompanying records we have, where more explicit information was not available, indicated their general altitudinal distribution as recorded in the volumes in the "Fauna of British India" series. The altitudinal range of the species inhabiting this northern region of Nepal must, however, vary greatly in different parts of the mountains, and it will require a great deal more observation to determine the exact range of a great many species.

(*Cynopterus brachyotis angulatus*), a species which ranges through Assam, Upper Burma, and the Malay countries, has been obtained by Scully in Nepal. The Southern Short-Nosed Fruit Bat (*C. sphinx*), a species generally distributed in the Indian Peninsula, occurs up to 12,000 feet. The flesh of the Bat and of the Flying Fox is eaten by certain tribes in Nepal.

The Insectivorous or Insect-feeding Bats (*Microchiroptera*) are represented by four families. The *Rhinolophidae* (Horse-shoe Bats), *Megadermatidae* (Indian Vampires), *Vespertilionidae* and the *Emballonuridae* (Sheath-tailed Bats). The family *Rhinolophidae* is represented by two genera, *Rhinolophus* (Horse-shoe Bats) and *Hipposideros* (Leaf-nosed Bats). Both genera are distinguished by a well developed nose leaf—but in the Horse-shoe Bats the anterior portion of the nose leaf has a deep incision in front. The commonest member of the first named genus in Nepal is Hodgson's Horse-shoe Bat (*Rhinolophus ferrun-equinum tragatus*), a race of the European Horse-shoe Bat, from which it is distinguished by the three distinct wrinkles on its lower lips. These bats commonly roost by day in outhouses and come out at dusk in small groups "to skim over the surface of the standing crops and glide between and around shady trees in search of insects." The Himalayan Horse-shoe Bat (*Rhinolophus luctus perniger*), a dark woolly furred bat, dwells solitarily in the caves and dense mountain forests—specimens have been secured at 3,000 feet. The Large-eared Horse-shoe Bat (*Rhinolophus macrotis*) and Pearson's Horse-shoe Bat (*Rhinolophus pearsoni*) occur in the central Valley of Nepal. The Himalayan race of the allied Horse-shoe Bat (*R. affinis himalayanus*) inhabits both the northern and the central region—it is a small bat with very variable colouring which ranges from dark brown to bright ferruginous. The Rufous Horse-shoe Bat (*R. rouxi*) has been taken in Nepal at elevations between 6,000 and 8,000 feet—it occurs also in South India and Ceylon, where it is believed to be an immigrant from the Himalayan region. The Little Horse-shoe Bat (*R. subbadius*) was recorded by Hodgson from the central region. Of the Leaf-nosed Bats (*Hipposideros*) the commonest is the Himalayan Leaf-nosed Bat (*Hipposideros armiger*). Its usual roosting place is in outhouses, lofts, and in caves. It flies early, the flight is low, and in the regular beat of the wings resembles that of the Flying Fox. Its favourite hunting grounds are gardens, orchards, avenues, and open glades in woods. The two other leaf-nosed bats are the Bi-coloured Leaf-nosed Bat (*H. gentilis gentilis*), so called from the fact that its fur is dark above and whitish on the belly, and the Little Leaf-nosed Bat (*H. cinerascens*), both recorded from the central Valley of Nepal.

The *Megadermatidae* or Vampire bats are represented by a single species (*Lyroderma lyra*), which is generally distributed over India. It is readily recognized by its large ears, which are joined together above the head, its truncated nose-leaf, and grey woolly fur. In Nepal the species is probably restricted to the plains.

The *Vespertilionidae*, the largest family of bats, are distinguished from all other Insect-eating Bats (*Microchiroptera*) by the presence of a tragus or additional membrane within the ear, by the absence of all trace of a

nose-leaf, and by the tail being practically enclosed within the membrane which connects the hind legs. The following genera and species have been recorded.

The Indian Noctule (*Nyctalus labialis*) occurs in the central zone. The Noctule has a strong flight, soars high in the air, and is early on the wing. It has a short blunt muzzle, the breadth of which is increased by glandular swellings on each side. This bat is stated to be present in Nepal at all seasons.

Three species of Pipistrelle Bats have been recorded. The commonest is the Coromandel Pipistrelle (*Pipistrellus coromandra*), which is common in the plains and according to Scully is found at all seasons in the Nepal Valley actively hunting in gardens and woods. It commonly roosts in houses and is widely distributed in India. The Southern Dwarf Pipistrelle (*Pipistrellus minimus*) is very similar in appearance to *coromandra*, but it is more slatey than brown and lacks the warm reddish tone seen on the under surface of that species. It is probably as widely distributed as *coromandra*, but is more a bat of the jungle and in Nepal has only, so far, been taken in the Tarai. The Babu Pipistrelle (*P. babu*) occurs in the central Valley.

The common Yellow Bat (*Scotophilus khuli*), which is widely distributed in the Indian peninsula, probably occurs in the Tarai.

The genus *Myotis* is represented by four species, all recorded from the central region. *Myotis formosus*, Hodgson's Bat, a beautiful species with golden brown fur and bright orange wings marked with triangular black patches is, according to Hodgson, found throughout the year in the Nepal Valley, though it does not appear to be common.

Myotis siligorensis, the Darjiling Bat, is one of the commonest species in the Nepal Valley, where it may be seen all the year round.

Myotis nipalensis, the Nepal Bat—distinguished by its pure white under parts—is only known from a single specimen obtained at Katmandu by a collector from the Indian Museum in 1871.

Two other species recorded from the central region are the Wall Bat (*Myotis muricola*) and the Sikkim *Myotis* (*M. sicarius*).

The genus *Miniopterus* is represented by a single species, Hodgson's Long-winged Bat (*Miniopterus fuliginosus*). On the wing it is one of the swiftest bats, its flight is likened to a swallow's. It is said to be found in Nepal all the year round.

INSECTIVORA

The only reference to the occurrence of a Hedgehog in Nepal is the record made by Hodgson. He described three forms from Nepal, all of which are referable to Hardwicke's Hedgehog (*Paraechinus collaris*). But no material is available either in the Hodgson or the Society's collection.

The Short-tailed Mole (*Talpa micrura*) was obtained by Hodgson in the central region and northern region. The animal closely resembles the European Mole, but has a very short tail. The species will probably

be most in evidence during the rainy season, when their shallow tunnels are to be seen across the pathways. The Nepal Brown-toothed Shrew (*Soriculus nigrescens centralis*), with deep glossy brown fur, is a larger and darker animal than the race from Sikkim, and has been taken in the damp nullahs at 12,000 feet. Hodgson's Brown-toothed Shrew (*Soriculus caudatus*) is common at the same altitude, while the Indian Pigmy Shrew (*Pachyura perrotteti*) occurs at lower altitudes but is apparently rare, though it may have been overlooked owing to its small size and shyness of traps. It is one of the smallest mammals in the world. Anderson's Assam Shrew (*Crocidura rubricosa*) was taken at Katmandu.

A large number of Musk Shrews (*Pachyura*) were obtained in Nepal by the Society's collector from elevations between 3,000 and 12,000 feet. They display considerable variation in colouring, etc., according to elevation, and it will probably eventually be found that several distinct species occur within the State, but until all the material obtained in Nepal and elsewhere in India has been studied no definite statement can be made.

CARNIVORA

FELIDAE

Of the larger cats both the Tiger (*Felis tigris*) and the Panther (*F. pardus*) are, according to Hodgson, generally distributed over Nepal. The tiger is common in the Tarai and the lower region, less common in the central and northern regions. Panthers are very common in the central region, where they are, however, said to be held in less dread than the bears. The beautiful Clouded Leopard (*F. nebulosa*), one of the most handsomely marked of all the cat tribe, is found, according to Hodgson, in the central region of Nepal. Of the smaller cats—the common wild cat of the swamps and marshy thickets of the Tarai is the Fishing Cat (*F. viverrina*), a medium-sized earthy-grey cat marked with elongated spots of varying size. It feeds principally on fishes and molluscs. The Golden Cat (*F. temmincki*), of which two colour varieties are known—one a rich golden red with a dark spinal stripe, the other dark brown—occurs in the central region. The Leopard Cat (*F. bengalensis*), whose general colour and markings give it the appearance of a miniature leopard, lives in the forests of the central region. It is essentially a forest animal, where, owing to its predilection for dense cover, it is seldom seen. The common Jungle Cat (*F. affinis*) is generally distributed over the State. Its long limbs give it a very distinctive appearance—the colouring is yellowish to sand grey with faint cross-bars on the limbs and tail.

VIVERRIDAE (Civets)

The large Indian Civet (*Viverra zibetha*), recognized by its dorsal crest of black hair, is generally distributed and is very common in the Tarai, particularly in the neighbourhood of villages.

The small Indian Civet (*V. malaccensis*), which is found all over India, is restricted, in Nepal, to the Tarai, while the beautiful Tiger Civet (*Prionodon pardicolor*) inhabits the central and northern regions. Its soft yellowish fur is strikingly marked with large black spots. It is a forest animal, living and breeding in the holes of decayed trunks.

The northern Manoori (*Paradoxurus crossi*) is, like the small Indian Civet, restricted to the lower region. It is a long-haired blackish-grey civet without any distinct markings and is found all over northern and central India.

The Himalayan Civet (*Paguma gravi*) inhabits the forests of the central region.

Four species of Mongoose have been recorded from Nepal. The common Indian Mongoose is restricted to the Tarai. Two small species of Mongoose occur in the central and northern regions—the small Indian Mongoose (*Herpestes auro-punctatus*) with short yellowish grizzled fur and the Nepal Mongoose (*H. nipalensis*), distinguished from the former by its darker colour and finer grizzling. The largest Mongoose found in Nepal is the Crab-eating Mongoose (*H. urva*), a large heavily built animal, with a coat of long iron-grey and white hair, supplemented with dense whitish under-fur. It inhabits the lower and central hilly regions.

CANIDÆ (Dogs, Foxes, and Jackals)

The Jackal (*Canis indicus*), according to Hodgson, is rare in the hills but common in the great populous Valley of Nepal. Examples have been taken at elevations from 150 to 12,000 feet. The Wild Dog (*Cyon dukhunensis*) is distributed over the northern, central, and lower hilly regions. Two species of Foxes occur. The small Indian Fox (*Vulpes bengalensis*), which is apparently very common in the Tarai, is a small animal with slender limbs, comparatively small brush, and in colour reddish grey minutely speckled with white. The Mountain Fox (*V. montana*)—a large richly coloured fox with long fur of a chestnut to dull rufous colour and a superb brush—inhabits the central and northern regions.

MUSTELIDÆ (Weasels and Martens, etc.)

The North Indian Marten (*Charromia flavigula*) occurs in the northern and central regions. In size and shape it resembles the European Marten, from which it is distinguishable at a glance by its black head, hind quarters, and tail. The Himalayan Weasel (*Mustela subhemachalana*), a small brownish-red weasel with a white chin and bushy tail, is found in the central region but is more common in the northern region. The White-nosed Weasel (*Mustela canigula*), distinguished by its white muzzle, chin, and throat, is provisionally included by Mr. Hinton among the list of Nepal mammals, as Hodgson's records appear to indicate its presence in the Kachar. The Yellow-bellied Weasel (*Mustela kathia*) was also obtained

by Hodgson in the Kachar. It is about the size of the common European Weasel, its dorsal fur is black, the ventral deep yellow.

The sub-family of the *Mustelidae*, known as the *Melinae*, comprising the badgers and their allies, is represented in Nepal by the Brown Ferret Badger (*Melogale nipalensis*) and the Indian Ratel (*Melivora indica*). No true badgers occur in India, though one is found in Tibet. The Ferret Badger is a small dark brown animal with a prolonged muzzle terminating in a naked blunt snout. Hodgson gives its habitat as "the lower region of the mountains of Nepal." The Indian Ratel, popularly known as the "Honey Badger," inhabits the lower region and the approximate part of the central tract.

The Otters (*Lutrinae*) form the third sub-division of the *Mustelidae*. Three species are recorded from Nepal—the Common Indian Otter (*Lutra lutra nair*), the Smooth Indian Otter (*Lutra barang taravensis*), and the Clawless Otter (*Amblonyx cinerea*). The Smooth Otter was believed by Hodgson to be restricted to the Tarai, and he considered the hill forms to be quite distinct from those of the plains. He recognized seven normal forms occurring within the State, but, in the absence of more material in the shape of skins and skulls it is quite impossible to arrive at any decision in regard to the status of the otters inhabiting the country.

PROCYONIDAE (Raccoons)

This family is represented in the oriental region by a single genus, *Ailurus*, which is confined to the Himalayan sub-region. The Raccoon or Cat Bear (*Ailurus fulgens*)—the only species—has a rounded head, broad white face, long bushy tail, and black limbs, and occurs in the northern and central zones. The dorsal surface and the tail are a bright rusty red, the ventral surface is dark brown. The Cat Bear is thoroughly nocturnal and usually roosts by day on the topmost branches of the trees.

URSIDAE (Bears)

The Bears are represented by the Indian Brown Bear (*Ursus isabellinus*), restricted to the Kachar and the Himalayan Black Bear (*Selenarctos thibetanus*), which frequents both the central and northern zones.

RODENTIA

SCIURIDAE (Squirrels and Marmots)

Flying Squirrels (*Petaurista*) inhabit the northern and central regions but are rare at lower altitudes. The Himalayan Flying Squirrel (*Petaurista magnificus*) occurs in the northern and central hilly regions. It is a very handsome squirrel with deep chestnut fur and a long rufous black-tipped tail. The fur is somewhat grizzled in appearance owing to the white tips

to some of the hairs. Hodgson's Flying Squirrel (*P. nobilis*), found in the same area, is very similar to the foregoing but is distinguished by a median yellow dorsal area—it was at first believed to be a seasonal form of *mag-nificus*, but the characters have been found to be constant and suffice to distinguish one from the other. A rufous brown Squirrel with an ashy grey head is the Grey-headed Flying Squirrel (*P. caniceps*). It occurs in the central zone, while *Petaurista albiventer*, a handsome flying squirrel with bay-coloured fur intermixed with white hairs, inhabits both the central and northern zones. The head and back are uniform in colour but the cheeks are grey. A smaller type of Flying Squirrel (*Pteromys (Hylopetes) alboniger*) is found in the northern and central regions. The colouring is greyish brown, much mixed with black, and the lower surface is white. These little flying squirrels migrate from higher to lower elevation according to the supply of food available. They build a nest of grass in holes in trees.

A single species of Giant Squirrel (*Ratufa gigantea*) is generally distributed over the hilly region of Nepal, but is more plentiful in the low deep valleys bordering the Tarai. It is a large black squirrel with buff-coloured under parts. The Orange-bellied Himalayan Squirrel (*Dremomys lokriah lokriah*) is common throughout the forests from 6,000 to 12,000 feet. The species is recognizable by its long narrow snout and short tail—its ventral surface is bright orange, the dorsal area olive-brown grizzled with black. The Hoary-bellied Squirrel (*Tomomys lokroides*), a small squirrel with speckled olive-brown fur, pale rufous abdomen, and red thigh patches—occurs in the hilly range. The common five-striped squirrel (*F. pennanti*) which, in North India, replaces the common Palm Squirrel (*F. palmarum*) of the peninsular area, is common in the plains. The Tibet Marmot (*Marmota himalayana*) is recorded from the high altitudes of the northern region.

MURIDAE

The rats occurring in the Nepal Tarai are all species which occur in the main Indian region. The Indian Gerbille (*Tatera indica*), the Bengal Mole Rat (*Gunomys bengalensis*), the largest of Indian Mole Rats, and the Soft-furred Field Rat (*Millardina meltada*) are all common in the cultivated portions of the Tarai, where the common Indian House Rat (*Rattus r. rufescens*) and the Bengal Tree Rat (*Rattus r. arboreus*), a coarse-furred tawny coloured rat with a creamy belly, also occur.

Two species of House Rats occur in the central elevated Valley of Nepal—the White-bellied House Rat (*Rattus rattus brunneusculus*) and the Nepal Rat (*Rattus rattus brunneus*); the former also occurs in the lower region; the latter, a very large rat with a dusky belly, appears to be confined to the central region. Other species inhabiting the region are the Nepal Hill Rat (*Rattus r. rattoides*), a very dark coloured species; a bright fawn-coloured rat, the Chestnut Rat (*Rattus fulvescens*); the Nepal Shiny Rat (*Rattus nitidus*); and *Rattus niviventer*—a greyish-brown rat with a bi-coloured tail—the last species occurs in the central and northern regions. The Spectacled Rat (*Rattus eha*), a species recently discovered in Sikkim, has

also been taken in Nepal at an elevation of 12,000 feet. It can be readily recognized by the black rings of hair round the eye. Hodgson's Tree Mouse (*Vandehuria dumeticola*), a bright chestnut mouse, with a white belly, occurs in the northern and central regions. Two species of House Mice are recorded—the Nepal House Mouse (*Mus homomurus*) and the Indian House Mouse (*Mus urbanus*); the former occurs in the central and northern zones, the latter is commoner in the lower region. Two species of Field Mice have been obtained—the Nepal Field Mice (*Leggada cervicolor*), recorded from the central region, and the Indian Field Mice (*Leggada booduga*) from the plains—to these must be added the Indian Bush Rat (*Golunda ellioti*), recorded by Hodgson as inhabiting "wooded country."

The Nepal Vole (*Apodemus (Neomys) gorkha*), a vole with smoky bluish-grey fur and white feet, inhabits the higher elevations. A single specimen of the Flower Mouse (*Neodon sikkimensis*) was taken at an elevation of 12,000 feet. The Flower Mouse is one of a small group of Asiatic Voles to which the name *Neodon*, applied originally by Hodgson to the Flower Mouse of Sikkim, has been given. According to Hodgson the Sikkim Flower Mouse inhabits forests and breeds in the hollows of decayed trees, making a nest of grass.

SPALACIDAE (Bamboo Rats)

A single species of Bamboo Rat is recorded from the lower and central region of Nepal—this is the Bay Bamboo Rat (*Canomys badius*), which is not uncommon on the edge of cultivation. Bamboo Rats are heavily built, the eyes are small, and their soft dense fur completely hides their small ears. The large orange-coloured incisor teeth are a striking feature.

HYSTRICIDAE (Porcupines)

The Indian Porcupine (*Acanthion leucurus*) and the Crestless Himalayan Porcupine (*Acanthion hodgsoni*) both occur in Nepal. In the latter the dorsal crest of long bristle-like hairs is wanting.

LEPORIDAE AND OCHOTONIDAE (Hares and Mouse Hares)

Two species of hares are found in Nepal—the common Indian Hare (*Lepus ruficaudatus*), which is generally distributed, and the Woolly Hare (*Lepus oiostolus*), confined to the northern region. The Himalayan Mouse Hare (*Ochotona roylei nipalensis*) inhabits the higher parts of the northern and central regions. The Mouse Hares resemble guinea-pigs in form and habit—three varieties occur in the Himalayas, of which the Nepalese race is distinguished by its dark colouring.

UNGULATES

Elephants and Rhinoceros—(*Elephantidae* and *Rhinocerotidae*) The Elephant (*E. maximus*) is still plentiful in the dense jungles of the Tarai,

where they roam in herds of from eighty to ninety. During the rains they visit the cultivated areas, being thus a source of considerable damage to the crops. Numbers of Wild Elephants are captured annually in Nepal. The Great One-horned Rhinoceros (*R. unicornis*) is still plentiful in the Nepal Tarai, especially so in the Chitawan district and along the Rapti river. Though many are shot every year no appreciable diminution in their numbers has yet been made. Though the Rhinoceros prefers swamps and high grass, it is also found in wooded jungles and up the ravines and low hills in the Tarai. Many legends and beliefs are attached to the rhino in Nepal. H.H. General Kaiser Sham Sher Jang Bahadur has contributed a very interesting note on these animals to the Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society. He writes: "The flesh and the blood of the rhino is considered pure and highly acceptable to the *Manes*, to whom high-caste Hindus and most Gurkhas offer libation of its blood after entering its disembowelled body. On ordinary *Sradh* days the libation of water and milk is poured from a cup carved from its horn. The urine is considered antiseptic, it is hung in a vessel at the principal door as a charm against ghosts, evil spirits, and disease." Like the elephant, the rhinoceros wanders into the cultivated part of the Tarai during the rainy season to feed upon the rice crops.

BOVIDÆ (Gaur, Sheep, Goats, etc.)

The Gaur or Indian Bison (*Bos gaurus*) is restricted to the Tarai, where it adheres to the most solitary parts of the sal forest, close to and between the salient spurs of the hills, never encroaching into open country.

The Yak (*Poephagus grunians*), according to Hodgson, inhabits the northern region as well as Tibet, but only in the immediate vicinity of the snows. The tribes of the Kachar are said to rear large herds and cross-breed them with domestic cattle.

The Wild Buffalo (*Bubalis bubalis macroceros*) is confined to the Tarai, where its haunts are the margins, rather than the interior, of the principal forests—they never ascend the mountains and prefer the most swampy parts of the district they frequent. The Wild Buffaloes frequently interbreed with domesticated animals, herds of which are driven into areas inhabited by wild buffaloes, remaining there in a semi-wild state for three or four months at a time.

WILD SHEEP AND GOATS

The Argali (*Ovis ammon hodgsoni*), the Bharal or blue sheep—the *Nahoor* of the Nepalese—the Himalayan Ibex (*Capra sibirica*) are all found on the snow-capped mountains of the northern region—a habitat they share with the Tahr (*Hemitragus jemlaicus*), known in Nepal as the "Jharal." According to Hodgson the Jharal inhabits the inaccessible bare crags close to the snows above tree level, feeding below such crags at early morning

and evening and retiring during the day to their fastnesses. The Jharals are said by Hodgson to inter-breed with the domestic goats.

The Himalayan Serow (*Capricornis sumatrensis thar*)—the *Thar* of the Nepalese—occurs both in the northern and central regions. The Nepalese Serow is distinguished from other races by the dark, almost black colour of the upper parts and the dirty or rufous white of the underside—the lower portion of the legs is white. Like the Serow, the Brown Himalayan Goral (*Nemorhaedus hodgsoni*) is found both in the northern and central zones.

ANTELOPES

Three species of Antelope occur in Nepal—but only in the Tarai. These are the Four-horned Antelope (*Tetracerus quadricornis*), inhabiting the jungles, the Black Buck (*Antilope cervicapra*), and Chinkara (*Gazella bennetti*), confined to the plains.

CERVIDAE (Deer)

With the exception of the Shou (*Cervus wallichi*), which is said to inhabit the northern region of Nepal, the various species of deer inhabiting the country are confined to the Tarai. The commonest deer of that region is the beautiful Spotted Deer (*Axis axis*), of which Hodgson believed there was a large and small form.

The Sambhar (*Rusa unicolor*), the largest of the Indian Deer, is frequent in the Tarai, but is also found on the slopes of the adjoining hills. The Swamp Deer or Bara Singha (*Rucervus duvaucelli*) is confined to the reeds and swampy portions of the Tarai and the skirts of the forest. The Hog Deer (*Hyelaphus porcinus*) is very common. The Rib-faced Deer (*Muntiacus vaginalis*) occurs both in the jungles of the Tarai and in the central region, but is seldom seen above 8,000 feet, while the diminutive and slender-limbed Chevrotain (*Moschiola memina*) is not uncommon.

The Musk Deer (*Moschus moschiferus*) inhabits the northern region of Nepal, where Hodgson was of opinion that there were three species of the genus. The musk pod, the contents of the abdominal gland, is only obtained during the rutting season, which is during the winter.

MANIDAE

The Eastern Pangolin (*Manis pentadactyla*) is, according to Hodgson, generally distributed over Nepal.

BIRDS

Order Passeres

Family CORVIDAE (Ravens, Crows, Magpies, etc.)

The Tibetan Raven (*Corvus corax tibetanus*) probably occurs on the Tibetan frontier of Nepal, though I can find no record of its actual occurrence within Nepalese limits. It is a bird of the loftiest regions and during

the Mount Everest expedition was observed at 21,000 feet: it is said not to descend below 9,000 feet even in winter. The Himalayan Jungle Crow (*Corvus coronoides intermedius*) is, according to Scully, common on the mountains round the Valley of Nepal at elevations from 6,000 to 9,000 feet; Stevens describes it as a resident species along the Nepal-Sikkim frontier, where he observed it at elevations of 10,000 to 11,000 feet. Eggs of this bird were taken in this area in April and May. The Jungle Crow of the Tarai and the lower hills is a form intermediate between the hill species and the common Jungle Crow (*Corvus coronoides leuallanti*) of the Indian plains. The ubiquitous Indian House Crow (*Corvus splendens splendens*) is extremely common in the central Valley, where it breeds, and in the lower regions of Nepal. The beautiful Red-billed Magpie (*Urocissa melanocephala occipitalis*), a number of examples of which were obtained by Colonel Kennion between 7,000 and 8,000 feet, and the Yellow-billed Magpie (*Urocissa flavirostris flavirostris*) both occur in Nepal. These birds may be readily recognized by their blue plumage and long white-tipped tails. The former species is common in the woods and forests of the Nepal Valley throughout the year at elevations from 4,500 to 7,000 feet—the Yellow-billed Magpie possibly occupies a slightly higher zone, above 6,000 feet. Stevens found it resident on the Nepal-Sikkim frontier at 11,000 feet in winter. A third species of magpie—the Green Magpie (*Cissa chinensis chinensis*)—inhabits lowlevel evergreen forests and bamboo jungle and is not common above 2,500 feet. Those sociable birds, the Tree Pies, whose clear metallic notes ring pleasantly in the jungles are represented by three species: the Himalayan Tree Pie (*Dendrocitta sinensis himalayensis*), quite a common species in the Valley of Nepal, the lower hills, and the plains of the Tarai; the Bengal Tree Pie (*Dendrocitta rufa vagabunda*) which, according to Scully, is common in the lower forests and plains in winter; and the Black-browed Tree Pie (*Dendrocitta frontalis*), inhabiting heavy evergreen forest between 4,000 and 7,000 feet in Eastern Nepal.

Two species of Jay occur in Nepal: the Himalayan Jay (*Garrulus bispecularis bispecularis*)—a fawn-coloured bird with bright blue markings on the wings. In Eastern Nepal this form is replaced by the East Himalayan race, the Sikkim Jay (*G. bispecularis interstinctus*) and the Black-throated Jay (*Garrulus lanceolatus*), a handsome bird with a black crest and a black throat striated with white. They are noisy birds moving about the forests in small flocks. The Himalayan Nutcracker (*Nucifraga caryocatactes hemispila*), described as a race of the European Nutcracker, but considered by some as a distinct species, inhabits the pine forests between 3,000 and 12,000 feet; in size it is slightly larger than a crow and its chocolate-brown plumage is streaked and spotted with white. The Red-billed Chough (*Pyrrhocorax pyrrhocorax*) and the Yellow-billed Chough (*P. graculus*) occur in the high alpine zone and the yellow-billed species has been observed in Eastern Nepal at 11,850 feet. During the Mount Everest expedition both species were seen at 20,000 feet.

PARIDAE (Tits)

The genus *Parus*, of which the Great Tit of England is the type, is represented in Nepal by two species—the Indian Grey Tit (*Parus major cinereus*), common in the lower hills and plains, and the Green-backed Tit (*Parus monticolus lepcharum*), a bird with a black head, greenish back, and bright yellow plumage, which frequents the hills round the Nepal Valley at elevations between 5,000 and 8,000 feet. A very common and familiar tit in the Nepal Valley throughout the year is the Northern Yellow-cheeked Tit (*Macrolophus xanthogenys xanthogenys*); in appearance it is much like the Green-backed Tit, but its cheeks are bright yellow and its black crest is tipped with the same colour. A second representative of this genus occurs within the same area; this is the Northern Black-spotted Tit (*M. spilonotus spilonotus*); it can be readily distinguished from its congener by its bright yellow forehead. The beautiful Sultan Tit (*Melanochlora sultanea sultanea*), a large Tit with a brilliant yellow crest and deep metallic black upper plumage, is confined to the lower valleys—the species occurs usually at “2,000 feet, though they are found at times as high as 4,000 feet.”

The forests of the higher elevations well above 6,000 feet afford shelter to a number of species of tits. Among these are the Himalayan Cole Tit (*Lophophanes ater aemodius*), the Sikkim Black Tit (*L. rufonuchalis beavani*), observed at 10,000 feet in Eastern Nepal, the Rufous-bellied Crested Tit (*L. rubidiventris*), and the Brown-crested Tit (*L. dichrous dichrous*). To these must be added the Yellow-browed Tit (*Sylviparus modestus modestus*), observed by Stevens on the Nepal-Sikkim frontier at 9,500 feet, and two species of pigmy long-tailed Titmice—the Red-headed Titmouse (*Aegithaliscus concinnus iredali*), recorded as common in East Nepal between 6,000 and 7,000 feet (Col. Kennion obtained it at the latter elevation at Godavari), and the Rufous-fronted Tit (*A. ioschistus*), occurring between 9,000 and 10,000 feet.

PARADOXORNITHIDAE (Parrot Bills, etc.)

The Great Parrot Bill (*Conostoma aemodium*) is a bird of high elevation “between 10,000 and 12,000 feet, descending in winter to about 4,000.” Gould’s Parrot Bill (*Paradoxornis flavirostris*) ranges from the foothills to about 5,000 feet. Both species move in small flocks among reeds and high grass. A third species, the Red-headed Parrot Bill (*Psittiparus ruficeps ruficeps*) is also recorded. The genus *Suthora* is represented by four species: the Brown Suthora (*Suthora unicolor*) inhabiting the higher regions of Nepal and Sikkim; the Ashy-eared Suthora (*S. nipalensis*), which is confined to Nepal; the Fulvous-fronted Suthora (*S. fulvifrons*); and the Black-fronted Suthora (*S. poliotis humiae*), recorded at an elevation of 7,500 feet from the Mai (Khola) Valley, East Nepal.

SITTIDAE (Nuthatches)

The Nuthatches are a well-defined group of short-tailed birds which, in the non-breeding season, are to be found in small parties running up and down the trunks and branches of trees in search of insects; they feed also on nuts, seeds, and fruit. The common Nuthatch of the hills above the Nepal Valley is the White-tailed Nuthatch (*Sitta himalayensis*), a slaty-blue bird with a black forehead and a broad black line on each side of its head and neck. This Nuthatch has been observed in Eastern Nepal at an elevation of from 8,000 to 9,000 feet. The common Nuthatch of the Valley proper is the Cinnamon-bellied Nuthatch (*Sitta castaneiventris cinnamomeiventris*); while a third species, the Velvet-fronted Nuthatch (*Sitta frontalis frontalis*), with uniform purplish-blue upper plumage and a velvety black forehead, occurs in the forests of the Tarai and the lower hills.

TIMALIIDAE

The family which contains a large number of birds nearly all tropical or sub-tropical is very well represented in Nepal. The various genera represented in this family are divided into three groups or sub-families—*Timaliinae*, *Sibinae*, and *Lotrichinae*.

TIMALIINAE (Laughing Thrushes)

The genus *Dryonastes*, which contains the Laughing Thrushes whose nostrils are almost completely hidden by bristle, is represented by two species: the Rufous-necked Laughing Thrush (*Dryonastes ruficollis*), a noisy bird which haunts scrub jungle and bamboo growth in the foothills and plains of Eastern Nepal, and the Grey-sided Laughing Thrush (*D. caerulatus caerulatus*), a bird of higher altitude, found principally "between 3,000 and 5,000 feet." The Himalayan White-crested Laughing Thrush (*Garrulax leucolophus leucolophus*), an olive-brown bird with a white head and breast, black cheek stripe, and a striking crest of ashy-grey feathers, is common in the foothills and moves up in large flocks into the Valley in summer. Col. Kennion obtained specimens at 8,000 feet. The Indian Black-gorgeted Laughing Thrush (*G. pectoralis pectoralis*) and the Indian Necklaced Laughing Thrush (*G. moniliger moniliger*) are also birds of low elevation; their breeding range is usually below "2,500 though they may be found up to 4,500." Neither of these birds carries a crest, but the former has a black cheek stripe which is wanting in the latter. The Laughing Thrush, permanently resident in the forest-clad hills round the Nepal Valley, is the White-throated Laughing Thrush (*G. albogularis*), a rich olive-brown bird with a white throat, white tipped tail, and bright ferruginous lower plumage. They are birds of high elevation and do not occur "below 3,000 feet." The genus *Ianthocincla*, which includes those Laughing Thrushes which have no bristles but in which the nostrils are overhung by a few long hairs, is represented by two species—the White-spotted

Laughing Thrush (*Ianthocincla ocellata ocellata*) and the Rufous-chinned Laughing Thrush (*Ianthocincla rufogularis rufogularis*); both birds have a black crown and nape, but in the former the upper plumage is spotted with white and in the latter it is barred with black. The White-spotted Laughing Thrush is a bird of high elevation, from 6,000 feet upwards; they were observed to occupy a range between 9,000 and 10,000 feet. The Rufous-chinned Laughing Thrush is found as low as 2,500 feet, but its habitual range is between 4,000 and 6,000 feet.

The genus *Trochalopteron*, distinguished from the preceding genera in having the base of the bill devoid of all bristles and hairs, is represented in the State by seven species. The Red-headed Laughing Thrush (*Trochalopteron erythrocephalum erythrocephalum*), whose distribution is given as "Chamba to Nepal," is represented in Eastern Nepal by the Sikkim race (*T. erythrocephalum nigrimentum*), where its occurrence in the Eastern limit of the State is recorded at an elevation of 10,500 feet in winter. The Assam Crimson-winged Laughing Thrush (*T. phoeniceum phoeniceum*) occurs from Nepal to the extreme east of Assam. It is a forest species found at elevations between 3,000 and 6,000 feet, descending lower in winter. The Plain-coloured Laughing Thrush (*T. subunicolor subunicolor*), a bird with bright yellow wings and olive-brown upper plumage, is found at high elevations in Eastern Nepal, where it occupies a range between 6,000 and 7,000 feet, but wanders as high as 11,000 feet. The Black-faced Laughing Thrush (*Trochalopteron affinis affinis*) is found from Eastern Nepal to Bhutan; it is a common bird in Sikkim where it is found between "8,000 and 13,000," haunting rhododendron, fir, and mixed forest right up to the snow line. Other species recorded are the Eastern Variegated Laughing Thrush (*T. variegatum*), the Blue-winged Laughing Thrush (*T. squamatum*), and the Nepalese Laughing Thrush (*T. lineatum setifer*). The last is a permanent resident in the hills round the Nepal Valley and is fairly common between 5,000 and 7,000 feet. Examples were obtained by Col. Kennion at 7,000 and 11,000 feet. The Striated Laughing Thrush, which occurs in Nepal, is a form intermediate between the Western race (*Grammatoptila striata striata*) and the East Himalayan race (*G. striata sikkimensis*). It is a true Laughing Thrush and may be recognized by its "stout deep short bill, striated plumage, and the long frontal hairs reaching over its nostril."

The Bengal Jungle Babblers (*Turdoides terricolor terricolor*), noisy, untidy, gregarious birds known commonly as the Seven Sisters, occur in the Tarai and are common in the duns in winter. Other species occurring in the cultivated areas, grass lands, and marshy submontane tracts of the Tarai are the Striated Babbler (*Argya earlii*), Common Babbler (*A. caudata caudata*), and the Slender-billed Babbler (*A. longirostris*).

The Nepal Spiny Babbler (*Acanthoptila nepalensis*), which is confined to Nepal, is a remarkable bird whose upper plumage and breast feathers have stiff shafts which become spinous when they are worn. According to Hodgson this babbler is "solitary and tenants low bushes."

Four species of Scimitar Babbler occur within the State. The birds

are immediately distinguished by their slender compressed and down-curved bill. The commonest species in the hills round the Nepal Valley is the Rusty-checked Scimitar Babbler (*Pomatorhinus erythrogonys erythrogonys*); this species has been recorded as breeding in E. Nepal in March. The example obtained by Col. Kennion is intermediate between the typical race and *P. erythrogonys haringtoni*. A second species tolerably common in the same area is the Rufous-necked Scimitar Babbler (*P. ruficollis ruficollis*); it is said to frequent elevations between 3,000 and 6,000 feet, but it has been observed in the eastern limits of Nepal as high as 10,000 feet in winter. Two other species known to occur are the Slaty-headed Scimitar Babbler (*P. schisticeps schisticeps*), found from the foothills to about 5,000 feet, and the Coral-billed Scimitar Babbler (*P. ferruginosus ferruginosus*), which has a range from "4,000 to 6,000 feet."

The Slender-billed Scimitar Babbler (*Xiphorhamphus superciliaris*), which differs from the true Scimitar Babblers in having a much larger, more slender, and still more curved bill, has been recorded from Eastern Nepal at elevations from 8,000 to 10,000 feet. The Bengal Red-capped Babbler (*Timalia pileata bengalensis*) ranges through the lower hills and submontane tracts from Nepal to Eastern Assam. Another Babbler which occurs in the plains and foothills is Abbott's Babbler (*Malacocincla sepiaria abbotti*). Mandelli's Spotted Babbler (*Pellorneum ruficeps mandelli*), the only representative of its genus occurring in the State, occupies a range slightly above the last-named species; its favourite breeding elevation being between two and three thousand feet.

The genus *Stachyrhis* is represented by four species—the Black-throated Babbler (*Stachyrhis nigriceps nigriceps*), a bird described as having a wide range from the foothills to 10,000 feet; the Nepal Golden-headed Babbler (*Stachyrhis chrysaea chrysaea*), and the Red-headed Babbler (*S. ruficeps ruficeps*)—an Eastern Himalayan species recorded as breeding in the Eastern limits of Nepal. The Red-billed Babbler (*Stachyrhidopsis pyrrhops*), a West Himalayan species, has a breeding range from 3,000 to 6,000 feet. The Nepal Babbler (*Alcippe nepalensis nepalensis*), a small babbler with a conspicuous ring of white feathers round the eye—frequents all kinds of cover at the foot of the hills round the Nepal Valley all the year round. Equally common in this area during summer is the Chestnut-headed Babbler (*Pseudominla castaneiceps castaneiceps*), while a second representative of the same genus (*P. cinerea*) has a Himalayan breeding range from "2,500 to 6,000 feet." Two species of *Fulvetta* occur in the State—Hodgson's *Fulvetta vinipecta vinipecta*, breeding in the Himalayas "between 6,000 and 10,000 feet" and the Golden-breasted *Fulvetta* (*Lioparus chrysotis*), observed in the Eastern limits of Nepal at elevations from 8,000 to 10,000 feet.

SUB-FAMILY SIBIINAE

A second group of Timaline birds forms the sub-family *Sibiinae*: the birds are characterized by their longer wings and weaker tarsi and feet.

Many of them are brightly coloured species of strictly arboreal habits, rarely if ever feeding on the ground. The genus *Sibia* contains a single species—the Long-tailed *Sibia* (*Sibia picaoides picaoides*), a slaty-brown bird with a white-tipped tail. It has an altitudinal range "from 3,000 to 8,000 feet," and is one of the birds which frequent the silk-cotton tree when in bloom. Flocks of Black-headed *Sibias* (*Leiopitila capistrata capistrata*), sprightly birds with a loud, melodious whistle, are very common in the hills round the Valley of Nepal between 6,000 and 8,000 feet. An example in Col. Kennion's collection was obtained at 11,000 feet. The Nepal Bar-wing (*Actinodura egertoni egertoni*) and the Hoary Bar-wing (*Ixops nepalensis*) both occur. The latter species was observed in Eastern Nepal at a winter elevation of 10,000 feet. The Stripe-throated *Siva* (*Siva strigula strigula*) is a permanent resident in the hills around the Nepal Valley. These birds move in small parties, frequenting moderate-sized trees and bushes; in Eastern Nepal they were observed at an elevation of 10,000 feet. A second member of the genus, the Blue-winged *Siva* (*Siva cyanuroptera cyanuroptera*), occurs, but is less common; it was obtained by Col. Kennion at 7,000 feet.

The genus *Yuhina* contains four species, two of which have been observed in Nepal—the Stripe-throated *Yuhina* (*Yuhina gularis gularis*), a permanent resident in the hills round the Nepal Valley, and the Slaty-headed *Yuhina* (*Yuhina occipitalis occipitalis*), which is also resident and equally common but occupies, according to Scully, a slightly higher zone. Both species keep up a continual twitter as they feed in small parties among the bushes and lower branches of trees. A third species common and permanently resident in the hills above the Nepal Valley is the Yellow-headed *Ixulus* (*Ixulus flavicollis flavicollis*). Scully states that it does not occur above 5,000 feet in winter, but is common from 7,000 to 8,000 feet during summer. The White-bellied *Herpornis* (*Erpornis xantholeuca xantholeuca*) inhabits the low hot valleys below 3,000 feet.

SUB-FAMILY LIOTHRICHINÆ

The Indian Red-billed *Liothrix* (*Liothrix lutea callipyga*), a cheery songster, occupies a range between 3,000 and 8,000 feet. The Nepal *Cutia* (*Cutia nepalensis*), a very handsome bird distinguished by its long upper tail coverts which reach almost to the tip of the tail, frequents the higher trees of the forest above 6,000 feet during summer, descending lower in winter.

Three species of Shrike-babblers occur; their external appearance is very shrike-like, but they are quite unlike shrikes in habit and, also unlike the shrikes, the males and females are distinct in colour. These species are: the Red-winged Shrike-babbler (*Pteruthius erythropterus*), observed by Scully at 7,000 feet in summer; the Chestnut-throated Shrike-babbler (*P. melanotis melanotis*), and the Green Shrike-babbler (*P. xanthochloris xanthochloris*). The first-named species has the feathers of its crown black, the second greenish yellow, the third dark grey. Stuart Baker is inclined to believe that in Western Nepal the Green Shrike-babbler is represented by

the West Himalayan race (*P. xanthochloris occidentalis*), which is distinguished by its pale ashy crown. The Rufous-bellied Shrike-babbler (*Hilarocichla rufigaster*) is a bird of high elevation of which little is known.

The common Iora (*Aegithina tiphia tiphia*), distributed over the greater part of India, is restricted, in Nepal, to the plains and lower hills and is seldom found above 2,000 feet. The Fire-tailed Myzornis (*Myzornis pyrrhura*), a bird of brilliant green plumage, is an inhabitant of the high-level forests in the Himalayas from 6,000 feet upwards. Stevens observed it on the Nepal-Sikkim frontier at 10,000 feet in March and April. Two species of Chloropsis occur within the State—the Gold-fronted Chloropsis (*Chloropsis aurifrons aurifrons*) and the Orange-bellied Chloropsis (*C. hardwickii*). In both species the plumage is bright green but the former bird has a rich orange-yellow forehead which, in the latter, is greenish yellow. Scully found both species common in the duns in winter; they move higher up in summer but neither species occurs above 6,000 feet. The Silver-eared Mesia (*Mesia argentea argentea*) is described as plentiful in the duns during the cold weather; the birds frequented the bushes by the roadside in active lively flocks. The last member of the family to be recorded is the Red-tailed Minla (*M. ignita*); Scully found it fairly common in summer in the Sheopuri forest at an elevation of 6,000 feet and was certain that it was breeding there.

PYCNONOTIDÆ (Bulbuls)

The Bulbuls form a very numerous group of birds. Many of them are among the commonest and most familiar of Indian birds; others are purely forest-dwelling species. The two best-known species, the Bengal Red-vented Bulbul (*Molpastes haemorrhous bengalensis*) and the Bengal Red-whiskered Bulbul (*O. emeria emeria*), both occur in Nepal. The former species is very common in the Nepal Valley, where it breeds—and in the lower region and the plains. Col. Kennion obtained it at 7,000 feet. The latter, though it is said to ascend elsewhere in the Himalayas to nearly 8,000 feet, was believed by Scully to be confined in Nepal exclusively to the lower regions. The Black-crested Yellow Bulbul (*O. flaviventris flaviventris*) also occurs. The White-cheeked Bulbul (*Molpastes leucogenys leucogenys*) is resident and very common in suitable localities on all the hills round the Valley of Nepal throughout the year but, unlike the Red-vented Bulbul, it does not descend into the central part of the Valley. Scully also found it common in the lower valleys during winter on bushes growing by the roadside which, he adds, were its only resort in Nepal and in which it was found to breed between May and June at elevations from 5,000 to 6,000 feet. The White-throated Bulbul (*Criniger tephrogenys flaveolus*) tenants the valleys between 1,000 and 3,000 feet: it has a range up to 6,000 feet. The Himalayan Black Bulbul (*Microscelis psaroides psaroides*), a black bird with a red bill and a long forked tail, is abundant in the Nepal Valley, where it is a permanent resident. It has been observed at an elevation of 10,000 feet on the Nepal-Sikkim frontier in winter. The

Rufous-bellied Bulbul (*Hemixus maclellandi maclellandi*) is common throughout the year on the hills round the Nepal Valley, where it occupies bushes and low trees but avoids high tree forests. It breeds in this area between May and June. Another species of the same genus—the Brown-eared Bulbul (*Hemixus flavala flavala*) has a breeding range in the Himalayas between “2,000 and 6,000 feet” and descends well into the plains in winter. The Striated Green Bulbul (*Alcurus striatus*) has a normal range of “4,000 to 9,000 feet, occasionally ascending in summer to some 10,000 feet.”

CERTHIIDAE

Tree-Creepers are small wren-like birds with slender curved bills and tails composed of stiff-pointed feathers. Four species are recorded from Nepal. The Himalayan Tree-Creeper (*Certhia himalayana himalayana*), readily distinguished from other Tree-Creepers by its cross-barred tail, has a range from 5,000 to 9,000 feet, ascending up to 10,000 feet or even higher in summer. The Nepal Tree-Creeper (*Certhia familiaris nepalensis*) is found principally between 7,000 and 10,000 feet. It ascends as high as 13,000 feet in summer and has been observed in East Nepal at a winter elevation of 10,000 feet. The third species, the Sikkim Tree-Creeper (*Certhia discolor discolor*) has an altitudinal distribution “between 6,000 and 10,000 feet.” It is described as a shy, secretive bird, keeping, unlike other tree-creepers, much to the interior of the forests. Col. Kennion obtained a specimen at Partapur. Stoliczka’s Tree-Creeper (*Certhia stoliczkae*) was observed to be common in the eastern limits of Nepal from 9,000 to 10,000 feet between January and May, when several were observed along the forest roads. The Wall-Creeper (*Tichodroma muraria*) is a handsome bird with a long slender bill and ash-grey plumage splashed on the wings with vermillion; it is usually found haunting the faces of steep cliffs and rocks at an altitude between 14,000 and 16,000 feet. Stevens observed it on the Nepal-Sikkim frontier at an elevation of 11,800 feet; while Scully states that it was common among the rocks and boulders overhanging the stream in the low Nayakot Valley during the same season. It doubtless breeds in the highest zone.

TROGLODYTIDAE (Wrens)

The Nepal Wren (*Troglodytes troglodytes nipalensis*) is a bird of high elevations above 10,000 feet. The Scaly-breasted Wren (*Pnoepyga squamata squamata*) and the Brown Wren (*P. pusilla*) are both quaint little tailless birds inhabiting evergreen forests between 3,000 and 7,000 feet. The Slaty-bellied Wren (*Tesia cyaniventer*) and the Chestnut-headed Wren (*T. castaneocoronata castaneocoronata*) both cover an extensive range of altitude—the last-named bird is recorded from Sikkim from the low valleys up to 11,000 feet.

CINCLIDAE (Dippers)

The Dippers are aquatic birds found usually on the banks of mountain streams. Two species occur within the State. The White-breasted Asiatic Dipper (*Cinclus cinclus kashmiriensis*) is a bird of very high elevation, and during the Mount Everest expedition was observed between 12,000 and 17,000 feet. The Indian Brown Dipper (*Cinclus pallasi tenuirostris*) normally keeps to lower elevations between 5,000 and 6,000 feet. In East Nepal it was obtained at an elevation of 7,500 feet, while Scully observed it in the Nayakot Valley in November and in the Markhu Valley in December.

TURDIDAE

The family is divided into six groups or sub-families: 1, *Brachypteryginae* (Shortwings); 2, *Saxicolinae* (Chats); 3, *Enicurinae* (Forktails); 4, *Phoenicurinae* (Redstarts); 5, *Turdinae* (Thrushes); 6, *Prunellinae* (Accentors).

Four species of Shortwing occur. Gould's Shortwing (*Heteroxenicus stellatus*), previously recorded only from Sikkim, has been obtained in the eastern limits of Nepal at an approximate elevation of 7,000 feet. Blanford obtained it in Sikkim between 12,000 and 13,000 feet. The Nepal Shortwing (*H. nipalensis nipalensis*) has a breeding range between 3,000 and 6,000 feet; the White-browed Shortwing (*H. curalis*) is said to breed from 5,000 to at least 10,000 feet. The fourth species is Hodgson's Shortwing (*Hodgsonius phoenicuroides*), which differs from the others in its comparatively long tail. Shortwings are inveterate skulkers, keeping entirely to the ground or to low thick cover. The Indian Blue Chat (*Larvivora brunnea*), included in this sub-family, frequents cool shady forest. Eggs of this bird were obtained in East Nepal in April at 7,000 feet. Its usual breeding range is from 5,000 feet upwards but it descends lower than this in Nepal during the winter.

SAXICOLINAE (Bush Chats)

The second sub-family, the *Saxicolinae* or Chats, forms a natural section of the Thrushes. The Indian Bush Chat (*Saxicola torquata indica*) is very common in the Nepal Valley throughout the year and is said to be abundant the whole way from the Valley to the plains in winter. It breeds in the Valley in June, and it has been observed breeding in Eastern Nepal at an elevation of 7,000 feet. This Chat is a hill breeder in distinction to the White-tailed Bush Chat (*Saxicola torquata leucura*) which breeds in the plains and is common in the Tarai. The Turkestan Chat (*Saxicola torquata przewalskii*) was obtained by Col. Kennion early in December 1920; the Northern Indian Bush Chat (*Saxicola caprata bicolor*) was also taken by him. The Dark-grey Bush Chat (*Oreicola ferrea ferrea*) is fairly common in the Nepal Valley throughout the year. It is always found about the foothills, and ascends to an elevation of about 6,000 feet. Eggs of this species were taken in the Valley in June.

ENICURINAE (Forktails)

The Forktails, included in the sub-family *Enicurinae*, are Wagtail-like black and white birds with long, deeply forked tails, found usually in the vicinity of streams. Four species occur in Nepal. Scully found the Western Spotted Forktail (*Enicurus maculatus maculatus*) fairly common in the streams of the Chitlong and Markhu valleys in winter, and observed it also as low down as the Hetaura duns, while in Eastern Nepal it was observed to be plentiful at 7,000 feet and lower during winter. The Slaty-backed Forktail (*Enicurus schistaceus*) is a permanent resident in the Nepal Valley but is, according to Scully, less common there than the Spotted Forktail. The Little Forktail (*Microcichla scouleri scouleri*) is also common in the Nepal Valley and in the Nayakot district.

PHOENICURINAE (Redstarts)

Four species of Redstarts (*Phoenicurus*) occur in Nepal, all of which breed in the higher ranges above 10,000 feet. The Blue-fronted Redstart (*Phoenicurus frontalis*) is a winter visitor to the Nepal Valley, but confines itself to the hills at elevations from 5,000 to 8,000 feet; it was observed at a winter elevation of 10,000 to 11,000 feet. The White-throated Redstart (*Phoenicurus schisticeps*), a handsome bird with a blue crown, black back, chestnut tail, and a large white throat patch, was also observed in the same area at the same time. Hodgson's Redstart (*Phoenicurus hodgsoni*) is common in winter in the Nepal Valley, where, Scully states, it appears towards the end of September, migrating northwards before the middle of April. Col. Kennion secured a specimen at 7,000 feet in November. The Eastern Indian Redstart (*Phoenicurus ochruros rufiventris*) is said to occur very rarely in Nepal and Sikkim. The beautiful White-capped Redstart (*Chaimarrornis leucocephala*), like the Forktail, is a persistent haunter of mountain streams. It is quite common in the Nepal Valley in winter and in the lower hills; it doubtless breeds during summer in the higher zones. The Plumbeous Redstart (*Rhyacornis fuliginosa fuliginosa*), a bird of uniform dull blue-grey plumage, has a breeding range from "4,000 to 12,000 feet"; but Scully states that it is only found in the Nepal Valley in winter and is also common at that season in the lower valleys and the duns; he observed it nearly always in company with White-capped Redstarts.

Other species of this sub-family recorded from Nepal are the Chinese Red-spotted Blue Throat (*Cyanecula svecica robusta*) and the Himalayan Ruby Throat (*Calliope pectoralis pectoralis*); both species visit the Nepal Valley in small numbers during the cold weather. Col. Kennion's collection includes an example of the common Ruby Throat (*Calliope calliope*) obtained early in December.

Hodgson's Grandala (*Grandala coelicolor*) is a bird of the highest altitudes; it breeds above 16,000 feet only and certainly wanders up to

20,000 feet, and even in winter these birds are rarely found below 10,000 feet.

The Golden Bush Robin (*Tarsiger chrysaeus chrysaeus*), the dominating note of whose colouring is bright orange in the male and olive-green in the female, is a shy bird which keeps mostly to thick jungle. It has been observed at elevations between 7,000 and 8,000 feet in Eastern Nepal, at which altitude the Red-flanked Bush Robin (*Ianthia cyanura rufilata*) was also common in March. Other species observed in the eastern limits of Nepal are the White-browed Bush Robin (*Ianthia indica indica*) and the handsome Rufous-bellied Bush Robin (*Ianthia hyperythra*), obtained at an elevation of 11,000 feet.

Two other species recorded from within the State are the Blue-headed Robin (*Adelura caeruleocephala*) and the White-tailed Bush Robin (*Notodola leucura*). Both were obtained in East Nepal in winter, the former at 11,500 feet, the latter at 8,000 feet. The Magpie Robin (*Copsychus saularis*) is a permanent resident in the Nepal Valley, where it is one of the commonest and most familiar birds. The Shama (*Kitlocincla macroura indica*) inhabits the more open country of the Tarai and the lower hills.

TURDIDAE (Thrushes)

The sub-family *Turdidae* comprises the true thrushes; birds of larger size which move about in flocks feeding both on insects and fruit. The Grey-winged Thrush (*Turdus boulboul*) is common and resident round the Valley of Nepal throughout the year. The birds confine themselves to the hills at elevations from 7,000 to 8,000 feet and only descend into the Valley proper in winter. Tickell's Thrush (*Turdus unicolor*) was observed by Scully in small numbers in the Nepal Valley; in summer this thrush, according to Stuart Baker, is found principally between 6,000 and 8,000 feet, but wanders higher and lower than this for breeding purposes. Other species observed are the White-collared Thrush (*Turdus albocincta*), which breeds in the higher altitudes, and the Grey-headed Thrush (*Turdus castaneus castaneus*) which breeds in West Nepal above 6,000 feet. Stevens obtained this thrush on the Nepal-Sikkim frontier at 10,000 feet in May. The Red-throated Thrush (*Turdus ruficollis*) and the Black-throated Thrush (*Turdus atrogularis*) were observed in the eastern limits of Nepal at 11,000 feet in March. The last-named is known as the "Cachar" in Nepal; it arrives in the Nepal Valley about the end of November and leaves at the end of April. During these months it is very common in gardens and woods and is often seen feeding on grassy slopes, pathways, and even ploughed fields (Scully). The Dark Thrush (*Turdus obscurus*) is described as an uncommon winter visitor to Nepal. Scully states that he observed it once in the Sheopuri Forest in May at an elevation of about 7,000 feet.

Two species of Ground Thrushes occur. The Pied Ground Thrush (*Geocichla wardi*), a very handsome thrush, ranging between 4,000 and 7,000 feet, and the Orange-headed Ground Thrush (*G. citrina citrina*). The latter is a favourite cage-bird with the Nepalese; it is found in summer in

the hills round the Nepal Valley, just above 5,000 feet, going down to the foothills and adjacent plains in winter. Baptista secured a specimen in the Tarai in March. The Himalayan Missel Thrush (*Arceuthornis viscivorus bonapartei*) is a bird of high elevation from 6,000 to 10,000 feet, remaining within these limits throughout the year. The Small-billed Mountain Thrush (*Oreocincla dauuma dauuma*) and the Plain-backed Mountain Thrush (*O. mollissima mollissima*) are recorded. Baptista obtained an example of the former in the Tarai during March.

The latter species was obtained in the eastern limits of Nepal at elevations from 7,000 to 10,000 feet in March and April. The Large Brown Thrush (*Zoothera monticola*), recognizable by its long powerful bill, which is strongly curved near the tip, has a breeding range in the Himalayas "between 4,000 and 9,000 feet, descending to some 2,000 to 3,000 in winter."

Four species of Rock Thrushes are recorded from Nepal. The Chestnut-bellied Rock Thrush (*Monticola rufiventer*) is common in the hills round the Nepal Valley, where it breeds, and in the open forest between 6,000 and 8,000 feet. The Blue-headed Rock Thrush (*Monticola cinclorhyncha*) is found in the Valley of Nepal on the hillsides only, where, according to Scully, it frequents for preference the little dry nullahs overgrown with bushes and small trees. It breeds in the valley and is often caged. The Indian Blue Rock Thrush (*Monticola solitaria pandoo*), a solitary thrush frequently seen perching on rocks and boulders, is a winter visitor to the Nepal Valley between October and March. The Himalayan Whistling Thrush (*Myiophoneus temminckii temminckii*), a large thrush with black plumage glossed over with blue, and a loud, human-like whistle, is a permanent resident in the hills round the Nepal Valley, where it is common about the streams. Col. Kennion obtained an example at 11,000 feet. Two other beautiful thrushes recorded are the Purple Thrush (*Cochoa purpurea*) and the Green Thrush (*Cochoa viridis*).

The Accentors (*Prunellinae*), connctions of the Thrushes (*Turdidae*), make up the last sub-family of the *Turdidae*. The following species are recorded from Nepal: Eastern Alpine Accentor (*Laiscopus collaris nipalensis*), observed at an elevation of 21,000 feet during the first Mount Everest expedition; Altai Accentor (*L. himalayanus*); Maroon-backed Accentor (*Prunella immaculatus*); the Black-throated Accentor (*P. atrogularis*), and the Rufous-breasted Accentor (*P. strophhiata strophhiata*), all species inhabiting the northern region descending to the central zone in winter.

MUSCICAPIDAE (Flycatchers)

The Flycatchers are all birds of small size with weak tarsi and feet and with numerous hairs stretching from the forehead over the nostrils.

The Sooty Flycatcher (*Hemichelidon sibirica cacabata*) and the Ferruginous Flycatcher (*Hemichelidon cinereiceps*) are both resident species in the Himalayas—the former between 6,000 and 14,000 feet, the latter

between 4,000 and 6,000 feet. Both species are said to descend to the foothills and adjacent plains in winter. The Orange-gorgeted Flycatcher (*Siphia strophhiata strophhiata*) is not common in the Nepal Valley. Scully observed it in March in the Residency grounds and again at the end of May on the Sheopuri ridge at 7,000 feet. The Eastern Red-breasted Flycatcher (*S. parva albicilla*) was found by him to be tolerably common in the central woods of the Nepal Valley from October to about the middle of April.

The genus *Cyornis*, which contains a large number of species closely resembling one another, is represented in Nepal by eight species. The Rufous-breasted Blue Flycatcher (*Cyornis hyperythra hyperythra*), breeding between 4,000 and 8,000 feet, and obtained in Eastern Nepal at 7,000 feet in May; the Slaty-blue Flycatcher (*C. tricolor tricolor*), resident between 8,000 and 12,000 feet; and the Eastern White-browed Blue Flycatcher (*C. superciliaris astigma*), which is said to breed at rather lower elevations. All these species occur in the foothills and adjacent plains in winter. The Sapphire-headed Flycatcher (*C. sapphira*) has also been obtained in Eastern Nepal at an approximate elevation of 7,000 feet. Other species recorded are the Indian Little Pied Flycatcher (*C. melanoleuca melanoleuca*), occurring between 3,000 and 8,000 feet in summer; the Blue-throated Flycatcher (*C. rubeculoides rubeculoides*), a seasonal visitor to the Nepal Valley, and Tickell's Blue Flycatcher (*Cyornis tickelliae tickelliae*). The last is a widely distributed species in India and occurs in the Himalayas up to 5,000 feet. The Pigmy Blue Flycatcher (*Nitidula hodgsoni*) occurs in the eastern limit of Nepal. The beautiful Verditer Flycatcher (*Stoparola melanops melanops*) is tolerably common in the forests at the foot of the hills surrounding the Nepal Valley, ascending the hills to about 8,000 feet in the breeding season (Scully). The Indian Brown Flycatcher (*A. latirostris poonensis*) is common in the central Valley from April to September, descending to the foothills and plains in winter. The Grey-headed Flycatcher (*Culicicapa ceylonensis ceylonensis*) is exceedingly common in the woods of the central Valley throughout the year and is abundant in the lower hills and plains in winter. Hodgson's White-gorgeted Flycatcher (*Anthipes moniliger moniliger*) has been obtained in the Mai (Khola) Valley in East Nepal.

The Niltavas are characterized by the brilliant plumage of the males, and both sexes are distinguished by a bright blue spot on either side of the neck. Three species are recorded: the Large Niltava (*Niltava grandis grandis*), the Indian Rufous-bellied Niltava (*N. sundara sundara*), and the Small Niltava (*N. macgrigoriae*). The last named is said by Scully to be rare in the Nepal Valley but to be more common in the foothills in winter in dense jungle, generally close to streams. Oates records this Niltava as breeding in Nepal and Sikkim from April to June at elevations from 3,000 to 5,000 feet. The North Indian Black-naped Flycatcher (*H. azurea styani*) occurs in the lower hills. The Yellow-bellied Flycatcher (*Chelidorhynchus hypoxanthum*), resident in the higher ranges, is common in the lower valleys in winter. Col. Kennion took an example at 7,000 feet in November. Two species of Fantail Flycatcher occur. These are the White-browed

Fantail Flycatcher (*Rhipidura aureola aureola*) and the White-throated Fantail Flycatcher (*R. albicollis albicollis*). Both are cheery little birds, immediately recognizable by their habit of continually spreading their fan-like tails. The former occurs from the plains to about 5,000 feet, the latter up to 7,000 feet. The beautiful Paradise Flycatcher (*Terpsiphone paradisi paradisi*) is very common in the Nepal Valley from the beginning of April to the end of September where, according to Scully, it frequents the central woods, gardens, and hedges, but does not ascend the surrounding hills. It breeds in the Valley in May and June.

LANIDAE (Shrikes)

The Black-headed Shrike (*L. nigriceps nigriceps*) is common in the Nepal Valley from March to September and migrates during the winter to the foothills and plains. A specimen was secured by Col Kennion at 11,000 feet in September. The only shrike commonly found in the Nepal Valley in winter is the Grey-backed Shrike (*L. tephronotus*). This species arrives in September and leaves in March, migrating to its breeding ground in the higher plateaus of Tibet. Baptista obtained a specimen in the Tarai in March. The Brown Shrike (*L. cristatus cristatus*), a winter visitor to North India, is also recorded from Nepal, where Col. Kennion obtained it in December; as well as a specimen of the Rufous-backed Shrike (*Lanius erythronotus*). The Brown-backed Shrike (*Hemipus picatus capitalis*) is uncommon according to Scully. Two species of Wood Shrike occur, the Nepal Wood Shrike (*Tephrodornis pelvica pelvica*) and the Indian Common Wood Shrike (*T. pondiceriana pondiceriana*); the latter, a widely distributed species in India, is common in the plains.

CAMPOPHAGIDAE (Minivets and Cuckoo Shrikes)

The Minivets are birds of brilliant plumage in which red in the male and yellow in the female is the predominant colour. They are closely allied to the Shrikes. The commonest species in the Nepal Valley is the Indian Small-billed Minivet (*Pericrocotus brevirostris brevirostris*). The species is resident throughout the year and is also abundant in the lower hills during winter. The Eastern race, the Assam Short-billed Minivet (*P. brevirostris affinis*), was observed on the Nepal-Sikkim frontier at 11,000 feet. The Indian Scarlet Minivet (*P. speciosus speciosus*) is also described as being tolerably common; in the Valley it ascends the hills up to 6,000 feet and is common in the lower regions and the plains. Three examples of the Burmese Scarlet Minivet (*Pericrocotus fraterculus*) were obtained by Col. Kennion at elevations between 7,000 and 8,000 feet. Other species recorded are the Rosy Minivet (*P. roseus*), breeding throughout the Himalayas between 1,000 and 6,000 feet; the Small Minivet (*P. peregrinus peregrinus*), a plains species recorded from the lower hills of Nepal; and the Yellow-throated Minivet (*P. solaris solaris*), a bird of high elevation in summer, which descends to the lower levels in winter. The Cuckoo Shrikes, the

predominant note in whose plumage is grey, are represented by two species—the Dark Grey Cuckoo Shrike (*Lalage melaschista melaschista*) and the Large Indian Cuckoo Shrike (*Graucalus macei nipalensis*). The former species is said to be common in the Valley of Nepal between April and September, descending to the plains in winter. The latter is a bird of the lower hills below 4,000 feet and rarely occurring in the central Valley.

ARTAMIDÆ (Swallow Shrikes)

The Ashy Swallow Shrike (*Artamus fuscus*) occurs in the plains and the foothills. The swallow shrikes, which are quite shrike-like in general appearance, are distinguished by their long powerful wings and very short tarsi. They are included in a separate family, the *Artamidae*.

DICRURIDÆ (Drongos)

The Drongos are easily recognized by their black plumage and long forked tails. The Himalayan Black Drongo (*Dicrurus macrocerus albirictus*), the northern representative of the common and familiar King Crow of the Indian plains, is abundant in the Nepal Valley throughout the year and also on the foothills and adjacent plains in winter (Scully). The Crow-billed Drongo (*Dicrurus annectens*) is confined to the foothills, where it breeds. The Himalayan Grey Drongo (*Dicrurus leucophaeus stevensi*), distinguished by its pale grey plumage, occurs in the Nepal Valley between March and September, retiring to the lower region during winter. Scully did not observe the White-bellied Drongo (*D. coerulescens coerulescens*) in the Nepal Valley, but he states that it is common in the duns in winter. This species was obtained by Col. Kennion. The Northern Bronze Drongo (*Chaptalia aenea aenea*) is abundant in the lower hills in winter and occurs in the central Valley during summer. The Indian Hair-crested Drongo (*Chibia hottentotta hottentotta*), a glossy black bird whose crown is ornamented with long hair like feathers, is abundant in the lower hills in winter, particularly when the cotton trees (*Bombax*) are in bloom. Two species of Racket-tailed Drongos occur: the Indian Lesser Racket-tailed Drongo (*Bhringa remifer tectirostris*), inhabiting Eastern Nepal, and the Assam Large Racket-tailed Drongo (*Dissemurus paradiseus grandis*). This species does not occur in the central Valley, but is common in the foothills and the plains.

SYLVIIDÆ (Warblers)

The Warblers (*Sylviidae*) are mainly small-sized birds with plain plumage. Many are migratory, others are resident. The Indian Great Reed Warbler (*Acrocephalus stentoreus brunnescens*), which breeds in the Himalayas above 6,000 feet and is a winter visitor to the plains from the base of the Himalayas southward, is recorded from Nepal; a race of this species (*Acrocephalus stentoreus amya*), which is darker and less rufous, breeds in the sub-Himalayan plains and the Tarai. Two other species, Blyth's Reed

Warbler (*A. dumetorum*) and the Paddy-field Warbler (*A. agricola*), have also been obtained in the State. Both birds breed in the Himalayas and migrate to the plains in winter. The Spotted Bush Warbler (*Tribura thoracica*) and the Brown Bush Warbler (*T. luteoventris*) have been obtained in Nepal; the latter species usually occupies a zone between 5,000 and 7,000 feet and descends to the foothills and plains in winter. The Burmese Tailor Bird (*Orthotomus sutorius patia*) is very common in the Nepal Valley, where it breeds freely, occurring also in the foothills and plains. The Streaked Fantail Warbler (*Cisticola juncidis cursive*) occurs both in the plains and the hills up to 6,000 feet. Other species recorded are Franklin's Wren Warbler (*Franklinia gracilis*), Hodgson's Wren Warbler (*Franklinia cinereocapilla*), the Large Grass Warbler (*Graminicola bengalensis bengalensis*), and the thick-billed Warbler (*Phragmaticola aedon*). The two last-named species occur in the grass jungles of the Tarai; the former is resident, the latter a winter visitor. The Willow Warblers (*Phylloscopus*) are represented by nine species. Tickell's Willow Warbler (*P. affinis*) was obtained by Scully in the Nepal Valley in October and from the middle of March to the middle of May, when it was tolerably common in the pine trees of the Residency grounds. The Brown Willow Warbler (*P. collybita tristis*) is a winter visitor and is included in Col. Kennion's collection; the Smoky Willow Warbler (*P. fuliginiventer*) and the Grey-faced Willow Warbler (*P. maculipennis*) are resident species. The former breeds in the high ranges of the Himalayas above 12,000 feet; the latter is resident between 5,000 and 9,000 feet. A series of skins of this warbler were obtained in the eastern limits of Nepal at 9,000 feet in April. The Nepal Orange-barred Willow Warbler (*P. pulcher pulcher*) is a winter visitor to the hills round the Nepal Valley between 6,000 and 7,000 feet; in East Nepal it was found to be common at elevations between 6,000 and 7,000 feet in March and April. Pallas' Willow Warbler (*P. proregulus newtoni*) is fairly common in the Nepal Valley in winter, when Scully found this species frequenting the pine trees in the Residency grounds. Hume's Willow Warbler (*P. humi*) is very common in the Valley of Nepal "from October to nearly the end of April." Scully states that it is far the most abundant species found in this Valley, where it frequents the central woods and forests at the foot of the hills. Other species mentioned are the Green Willow Warbler (*Acanthopneuste nitidus nitidus*), which passes through Nepal on its way to and from its winter quarters in the plains; the Greenish Willow Warbler (*A. nitidus viridanus*), which Scully found fairly common in the Nepal Valley in winter; and Blyth's Crowned Willow Warbler (*A. trochiloides trochiloides*), which he observed in the Sheopuri Forest in May at an elevation of 6,500 feet. The two last-named species breed in the Himalayas. The Dull-green Willow Warbler (*A. lugubris*) is also recorded. Stevens observed these birds on the Nepal-Sikkim frontier at 10,000 feet in March. The Black-browed Flycatcher Warbler (*Seicercus burkii burkii*); the Grey-headed Warbler (*Seicercus xanthoschistus jerdoni*), a resident and very common species in the Valley and the surrounding hills; the Grey-cheeked Flycatcher Warbler (*Seicercus poliogenys*), observed

in the eastern limits of Nepal at 10,000 feet in April and May; the Chestnut-headed Flycatcher Warbler (*Seicercus castaneiceps*), recorded from the Sheopuri Forest in May and June; the Black-faced Flycatcher Warbler (*Abornis schisticeps schisticeps*); and the White-throated Flycatcher Warbler (*A. albogularis albogularis*) have all been obtained in Nepal. The Aberrant Warbler (*Neornis f. flavolivaceus*) and Hume's Bush Warbler (*Horornis acanthizoides brunnesceus*) are both high elevation species; and both were observed at 10,000 feet in East Nepal. Other species recorded from the State are the Strong-footed Warbler (*H. fortipes*); the Large Bush Warbler (*H. major*); the Rufous-capped Bush Warbler (*Horeites brunniifrons brunniifrons*), observed breeding at an elevation of 10,000 feet in East Nepal; the Brown Hill Warbler (*Suya crinigera crinigera*), common in the hills round the Valley of Nepal (5,000 to 6,000 feet), where it breeds between May and July; the Black-throated Hill Warbler (*Suya atrogularis*), known previously only from Sikkim but found also to be common in the Mai Valley, East Nepal, at 7,000 feet; the Yellow-bellied Wren Warbler (*Prinia flaviventris flaviventris*), which occurs in the Nepal Tarai; Stewart's Ashy Wren Warbler (*P. socialis stewarti*), and the Indian Wren Warbler (*P. inornata inornata*). The Gold-Crests and Tit Warblers are included in a separate family, the *Regulidae*. Two species are recorded—the Himalayan Gold Crest (*Regulus regulus sikkimensis*), observed at 10,000 feet on the Nepal-Sikkim frontier in January, and the Fire-capped Tit Warbler (*Cephalophrys flammiceps flammiceps*).

FAMILY ORIOLIDAE

The Orioles comprise a number of arboreal species, the predominating colour of which, except in a single species, is yellow—four species are recorded as occurring in Nepal. The Burmese Black-naped Oriole (*Oriolus indicus tenuirostris*) is described by Scully as a winter visitor to the central Valley, where it is seen between October and March. The Indian Oriole (*Oriolus kundoo*) arrives in the Valley in April and leaves in August. The Indian Black-headed Oriole (*Oriolus xanthornus xanthornus*) is common in the plains and the foothills. The Maroon Oriole (*Oriolus trailii*), whose name describes its colour, was observed by Scully in the lower hills in winter in Sikkim, this Oriole is generally distributed at all elevations from the base of the hills up to 7,500 feet.

FAMILY EULABETIDAE (Grackles, Mynas, and Starlings)

The Indian Grackle (*Eulabes intermedia intermedia*) is common in the duns and the Tarai, but does not occur in the hills, it is a favourite cage bird in Nepal. The Spotted-winged Stare (*Psaroglossa spiloptera*) occurs in the State and is represented by two examples in the Hodgson collection at the British Museum. Two species of Starlings are recorded: the Rose-coloured Starling (*Pastor roseus*), a winter visitor to the Indian plains, which has also been obtained by Hodgson in Nepal, and the Himalayan

Starling (*Sturnus vulgaris hurnii*), a resident species; it was observed by Scully in small numbers in the plains in winter. The Grey-headed Starling (*Spodiopsar malabarica*), a widely distributed Indian species, is common in the central Valley between April and September and occurs also in the lower region and the Tarai. The common Indian Myna* (*Acridotheres tristis*), one of the most familiar of Indian birds, is exceedingly common in the plains and both in the lower and central regions up to about 6,000 feet. Three other species occur: the Bank Myna (*Acridotheres ginginianus*); the Jungle Myna (*A. fuscus fuscus*), a common and permanent resident in the Valley; and the Pied Myna (*Sturnopastor contra capensis*), which is common in the foothills and more common in the plains.

FAMILY PLOCEIDAE (Weaver Birds and Munias)

The *Ploceidae* include the Conical-billed Grain-eating species such as Weaver Birds and their connections the Munias. A race of the Baya Bird (*Ploceus philippinus*) breeds in the Nepal Valley and is common between April and September. The Eastern Baya Bird (*P. passerinus philippinus*) occurs in the Tarai.

The Munias are included in the sub-family *Viduinæ*. The Northern Chestnut-headed Munia (*Munia atricapilla rubroniger*) and the Spotted Munia (*Uroloncha punctulata punctulata*) are both quite common in the Valley between May and October; the latter species, according to Scully, arrives early in May, the former not till the close of the month. Hodgson's Munia (*Munia striata acuticauda*) was taken in the Valley by Scully in February. The Indian Red Munia (*Amandava amandava amandava*) occurs in the lower region.

FAMILY FRINGILLIDAE (Grosbeaks, Finches, etc.)

Four species of Grosbeaks are recorded: the Black and Yellow Grosbeak (*Perrisospiza icteroides*), a west Himalayan species; the Allied Grosbeak (*P. affinis*), observed at an altitude of 9,000 feet on the Nepal-Sikkim frontier; the White-winged Grosbeak (*P. carnipes carnipes*); and the Spotted-winged Grosbeak (*Mycerobas melanocephalus*).

Hodgson records three species of Bull-Finch: the Red-headed Bull-Finch (*Pyrrhula erythrocephala*), the Gold-headed Bull-Finch (*P. epauletta*), and the Brown Bull-Finch (*P. nipalensis nipalensis*). According to Scully, the last-named species descends into the hills round the Valley of Nepal in winter. Stevens observed it on the Nepal-Sikkim frontier at 10,160 feet early in May. The Himalayan Crossbill (*Loxia curvirostra himalayana*) also occurs; it has been obtained in the eastern limits of Nepal at 11,500 feet in March. The Scarlet Finch (*Haematospiza sipahi*) inhabits forest and bushy ground in Nepal and Sikkim at various elevations.

Several Rose-Finches occur. Those recorded are the Red-headed Rose-Finch (*Propyrrhula subhimalchis*), observed on the Nepal-Sikkim frontier at 10,000 feet; the Red-breasted Rose-Finch (*Pyrrhospiza punicea*).

punicca), a bird of high elevation obtained during the Everest Expedition at 17,500 feet; the White-browed Rose-Finch (*Propasser thurus thurus*), recorded as common on the Nepal-Sikkim frontier between 10,000 and 11,000 feet in March; the Beautiful Rose-Finch (*P. pulcherrimus pulcherrimus*) obtained during the Everest expedition at 14,800 feet; the Pink-browed Rose-Finch (*P. rhodochrous*); the Spotted-winged Rose-Finch (*P. rhodopeplus rhodopeplus*); and Hodgson's Rose-Finch (*Carpodacus erythrinnus roseatus*), which merely passes through the Valley on its migrations. The last species is often caged by the Nepalese. Edwards' Eastern Rose-Finch (*Carpodacus edwardsi saturatus*) has been obtained in the Mai (Khola) Valley in East Nepal at 8,000 feet. The Dark Rose-Finch (*Procarduelis nipalensis nipalensis*) is common in the hills round the Valley of Nepal in winter only between 6,000 and 8,000 feet; it was observed at an elevation of 8,000 feet in East Nepal in March. Blanford's Rose-Finch (*Procarduelis rubescens*) occurs in Eastern Nepal and Sikkim. The Himalayan Green-Finch (*Hypocanthus spinoides*) is a very common and permanent resident in the Nepal Valley; during the Mount Everest expedition it was obtained at 12,000 feet; Col. Kennion obtained several examples at 11,000 feet in September. Of the Sparrows, the Tree Sparrow (*Passer montanus saturatus*) is the common sparrow of the Nepal Valley, where it is a permanent resident, breeding from March to July. A race of the common Indian Sparrow (*Passer domesticus*), intermediate between *P. d. confusicus* and *P. d. parkini*, is also common and resident, but is confined to the neighbourhood of towns and villages. Two other species recorded are the Yellow-throated Sparrow (*Gymnoris xanthosterna xanthosterna*), a plains species, and the Cinnamon Sparrow (*P. rutilans cinnamomens*).

A single species of Mountain Finch, i.e., Hodgson's Mountain Finch (*Fringilanda nemoricola nemoricola*) has been recorded from within the borders of the State. The species breeds in the high altitudes of the Himalayas from Nepal to Tibet. Adam's Mountain-Finch (*Montifringilla nivalis adamsi*) has been obtained on the Nepal-Sikkim frontier at an elevation of over 11,000 feet in summer.

Hodgson has recorded four species of Bunting. The Indian Grey-headed Bunting (*Emberiza fucata arcuata*), a resident species, the Little Bunting (*E. pusilla*), the Yellow-breasted Bunting (*E. aureola*), and the Black-faced Bunting (*E. spodocephala melanops*), winter visitors to Nepal. The Crested Bunting (*Melophus melanicterus*) is described as a permanent resident in the Valley of Nepal and in the cultivated portions of the surrounding hills.

HIRUNDINIDÆ (Swallows and Martins)

The commonest swallow in the Nepal Valley is apparently Hodgson's Striated Swallow (*Hirundo daurica nipalensis*). It is the one seen most commonly about houses. It leaves the Valley for lower levels during the winter. The Eastern Swallow (*Hirundo rustica gutturalis*) is very common. It arrives in February and migrates to the plains in September—both species breed in the Valley.

The Crag Martin (*Ptyonoprogne rupestris*) occurs throughout the Himalayas, breeding at high altitudes. Scully describes it as rare in the central Valley, but common in the lower valleys in winter. A race of the Sand Martin (*Riparia riparia*) is found in the central Valley throughout the year where, according to Scully, its presence is particularly noticeable in winter when other swifts and swallows have migrated to lower levels. It breeds on the banks of rivers and in the side of alluvial cliffs so common in the main Valley of Nepal.

Hodgson's Martin (*Delichon nipalensis*) occurs throughout the year. It is said to ascend the Himalayas up to 8,000 feet and was observed at that elevation in East Nepal in March.

MOTACILLIDÆ (Wagtails and Pipits)

The Large Pied Wagtail (*Motacilla maderaspatensis*), which breeds in the plains and in the Himalayas up to 3,000 feet, was observed by Hodgson in Nepal. Other species of wagtails recorded from the State are the White-faced Wagtail (*Motacilla alba leucopsis*), Hodgson's Wagtail (*M. a. hodgsoni*), and the Grey Wagtail (*M. cinerea caspica*); all three are common in the central Valley and the lower ranges between September and April. A single example of the Streak-eyed Wagtail (*M. a. ocularis*) was taken by Scully in the Nepal Valley in May—he presumed that the bird was in passage to its breeding grounds. Other species are the Indian White Wagtail (*M. alba dukhunensis*), a winter visitor to the whole of India; the Yellow-headed Wagtails (*M. citreola calcaratus* and *M. citreola citreola*), large series of which were obtained by Hodgson; and the Grey-faced Wagtail (*M. flava ihunbergi*). Hodgson's Pied Wagtail (*M. a. alboides*) as a breeding species is found "from Kashmir along the Himalaya to Tibet."

The Indian Tree Pipit (*Anthus hodgsoni*) is very common in the Valley of Nepal and in the lower hills in winter—arriving, according to Scully, in October and leaving about the end of April; the species breeds in the higher parts of the Himalayas from 7,000 to 12,000 feet and visits the greater part of India during the cold weather. The Indian Pipit (*Anthus richardi rufulus*) is exceedingly common in the Valley of Nepal throughout the year; it is also common in the lower valleys in winter. Blyth's Pipit (*A. richardi striolatus*) was obtained by Hodgson. Hodgson's Pipit (*Anthus roseatus*) is common in the Nepal and Chitlong Valleys between October and March; in summer it occupies an elevation above 12,000 feet. The Upland Pipit (*Oreocorys sylvanus*) is described as a permanent resident round the Nepal Valley, where it keeps to the grassy slopes of the hills at an elevation of about 6,000 feet and does not appear to descend to the bed of the valley (Scully).

ALAUDIDÆ (Larks)

The Tibet Skylark (*Alda arvensis leiopus*) is, according to Scully, tolerably common in the Nepal Valley during winter, retiring about the

end of March. During winter he also observed a race of the Indian Skylark (*Alanda gulgula* var.) in the Valley and found the Crested Lark (*Galerida cristata* var.) common in the Tarai. Other species recorded from Nepal are the Ganges Sand Lark (*Alanda raytal raytal*), pretty common in the plains in December, the Short-toed Lark (*Calandrella brachydactyla dukhunensis*), observed during migration in October, the Bengal Bush Lark (*Mirafra assamica*) and the Ashy-crowned Finch-Lark (*Pyrhulanda grisea grisea*). The Long-billed Calandra Lark (*Melanocorypha maxima*) is "confined to the country between Kansu and the northern borders of Nepal and Sikkim." During the first Mount Everest expedition it was observed on the open plains at 14,000 to 15,000 feet.

ZOSTEROPIDAE (White Eyes)

The Indian White Eye (*Z. palpebrosa palpebrosa*) of the Indian Plains—is exceedingly common in the Valley of Nepal throughout the year. Col. Kennion obtained examples at 7,000 feet.

NECTARINIDAE (Sunbirds)

The Himalayan Yellow-backed Sunbird (*Aethopyga siparaja scheriae*) and Hodgson's Yellow-backed Sunbird (*A. s. miles*) both occur—the former is said to breed in the foothills of the Himalayas; Stevens observes, however, that this statement does not hold good for Western Sikkim, where the species is confined to low elevations only and is entirely absent from the foothills; the latter is said to breed apparently above the breeding range of the former. Other species recorded are the Fire-tailed Yellow-backed Sunbird (*A. ignicauda ignicauda*), Mrs. Gould's Sunbird (*Aethopyga gouldiae*), both species observed at an elevation of over 10,000 feet on the Nepal-Sikkim frontier in March, and the Black-breasted Sunbird (*Aethopyga saturata*). Scully writes that the Nepal Sunbird (*Aethopyga nipalensis nipalensis*) is very common in the forest-covered hills around the Nepal Valley from 7,000 to 8,000 feet, and in the foothills in winter; it was, however, found to be common in the eastern limits of Nepal between 7,000 and 10,000 feet in March. The Purple Sunbird (*Cyrtostomus asiaticus asiaticus*), found practically throughout India, is a summer visitor to the Nepal Valley, where it is common in gardens and hedges between May and September. The Fire-breasted Flower-pecker (*Dicaeum ignipectum*) is tolerably common in the Valley of Nepal and is apparently a permanent resident, while the Thick-billed Flower-pecker (*Piprisoma squalidum*) is described as a summer visitor to the central part of the great Valley where it is common. Other species of this family recorded as occurring within the State are the larger Streaked Spider-hunter (*Arachnothera magna magna*), the Scarlet-backed Flower-pecker (*Dicaeum cruentatum cruentatum*), the Plain-coloured Flower-pecker (*Dicaeum minullum olivaceum*), Tickell's Flower-pecker (*Dicaeum erythrorhynchum*), the Thick-billed Flower-pecker (*Piprisoma squalidum*).

squalidum), not uncommon, according to Scully, in the central part of the Nepal Valley from May to September, and the Yellow-bellied Flower-pecker (*Pachyglossa melanoxantha*).

FAMILY PITTIDAE (Pittas or Ant-Thrushes)

The Pittas are a compact group of birds with long legs and short tails, which live habitually on the ground in the jungles; they are represented in Nepal by the Blue-naped Pitta (*Pitta nepalensis*), the Green-breasted Pitta (*P. cucullata cucullata*), both Himalayan species, and the Indian Pitta (*P. brachyura*), which is widely distributed all over India.

ORDER EURYLAIMI

EURLAIMIDAE (Broadbills)

The Broadbills (*Eurylaimidae*) are birds in which the bill is abnormally broad and flat; they are all strikingly coloured. Two species occur: Hodgson's Broadbill (*Serilophus lunatus rubropygius*) is an East Himalayan species which extends into Nepal; the Long-tailed Broadbill (*Psarisomus dalhousiae*) is a beautiful grass-green bird with a green bill and black crown, ornamented with a central blue patch; it occurs throughout the Himalayas up to 6,000 feet. The former is known as the "Rai-o-suga" and the latter as the "Rai-i" in Nepal.

ORDER PICI

FAMILY PICIDAE (Woodpeckers, etc.)

The Scaly-bellied Green Woodpecker (*Picus squamatus squamatus*) occurs in Western Nepal. The little Scaly-bellied Green Woodpecker (*P. striolatus*) is common in the sal forests of the lower region and in the Tarai; it is usually seen feeding on the ground in the tall grass. The Indian Black-naped Woodpecker (*P. canus occipitalis*) is not uncommon and breeds in the forests surrounding the Nepal Valley. The Small Himalayan Woodpecker (*P. chlorolophus chlorolophus*) also breeds in the Valley and is usually found in tree forests at the foot of the hills; Scully found it equally common in the lower hills and the duns during winter and Baptista obtained it in the Tarai in February. The Large Yellow-naped Woodpecker (*Chrysophlegma flavinucha flavinucha*) and the Northern Pale Woodpecker (*Gecinulus grantia grantia*) are recorded. The Darjiling Pied Woodpecker (*Dryobates darjeelensis*) is common in the hills round the Valley of Nepal in large tree forests; it was found to be common in East Nepal at an elevation of 10,000 feet in winter. The Lesser Pied Woodpecker (*D. cathparius cathparius*) occurs in Eastern Nepal between 4,000 and 7,000 feet. Other

species of this genus which have been recorded are the Fulvous-breasted Pied Woodpecker (*D. macei macei*), obtained by Col. Kennion; the Rufous-bellied Pied Woodpecker (*D. hyperythrus hyperythrus*), observed on the Nepal-Sikkim frontier between 10,000 and 12,000 feet during June and August; and the Brown-fronted Pied Woodpecker (*D. auriceps*), a West Himalayan species observed once by Scully in the Valley of Nepal and also obtained by Hodgson and Mandelli. Scully found the Himalayan Pigmy Woodpecker (*Lyngipicus pygmaeus*) tolerably common in the sal forests of the duns; while Col. Kennion's collection of Nepal birds includes two examples of a Pigmy Woodpecker (*L. semicoronatus mitchellii*) which he obtained at Bhuguwada. The Red-eared Bay Woodpecker (*Blythipicus pyrrhotis pyrrhotis*) is found in Eastern Nepal at 7,000 feet or even higher. It is practically a ground feeding species. Other Woodpeckers found in Nepal are the Northern Rufous Woodpecker (*Micropternus brachyurus phaiiceps*), which Scully considered rare; the Northern Golden-backed Woodpecker (*B. aurantius aurantius*); the Himalayan Golden-backed Three-toed Woodpecker (*Tiga shorei*), obtained by Col. Kennion; Hodgson's Golden-backed Woodpecker (*Chrysocolaptes gutticristatus sultaneus*), and Hesse's Great Slaty Woodpecker (*Alophonerpes pulverulentus harterti*), all confined to the Tarai and the lower hills.

The little group of small Short-tailed Birds, known as the Piculets (*Picumnidae*), is represented in Nepal by the Himalayan Speckled Piculet (*Picumnus innominatus innominatus*) and the Indian Rufous Piculet (*Sasia ochracea ochracea*). The former is common in the central woods of the Nepal Valley and at the foot of the surrounding hills; the latter occurs at still higher elevations. The Kashmir Wrenneck (*Lynx torquilla japonica*) occurs during migration; it is represented in the Hodgson collection at the British Museum by two examples, while two other specimens obtained within the State were presented by him to the Indian Museum.

CAPITONIDÆ (Barbets)

Among the Barbets which, unlike the Woodpeckers, are mainly frugivorous, the Great Himalayan Barbet (*Megalaema virens marshallorum*) is common in the central Valley throughout the year, ascending in summer to above 7,000 feet, and descending to the foothills in winter. The Assam Lineated Barbet (*Thereiceryx lineatus hodgsoni*) is common and is limited to the forests below 2,000 feet—it is one of the birds commonly seen on the silk cotton trees when in flower. The beautiful Blue-throated Barbet (*Cyanops asiatica asiatica*) is exceedingly common in the central Valley and in the lower forests throughout the year. The Golden-throated Barbet (*C. franklinii franklinii*) is not common in the central Valley; it is found in the surrounding hills at elevations from 5,000 to 8,000 feet. The Indian Crimson-throated Barbet (*Xantholaema haemacephala indica*) is not common in the central Valley; it occurs only in the "central woods," where it breeds. It is common, however, in the lower hills and plains.

ORDER ANISODACTYLI

CORACIIDAE (Rollers)

The Rollers are represented by two species—the North Indian Roller (*Coracias benghalensis benghalensis*) and the Broad-billed Roller (*Eurystomus orientalis orientalis*). The former is common in the Tarai and the lower valleys throughout the year and appears in the central Valley only as a rare straggler. The specimens obtained in the Tarai by Col. Kennion and by Baptista were found to be intermediate between *C. benghalensis benghalensis* and the Burmese race (*C. benghalensis affinis*). The Broad-billed Roller (*E. o. orientalis*) inhabits the lower slopes of the Himalayas up to 3,000 feet.

SUB-ORDER MEROPES

MEROPIDAE (Bee-Eaters)

Hodgson's list includes four species of Bee-eaters as occurring within the State. Of these the Common Bee-eater (*Merops orientalis orientalis*) is common in the Tarai and the duns, particularly in winter and occurs in the central Valley as a rare straggler; the Blue-tailed Bee-eater (*Merops superciliosus javanicus*) occurs in the Tarai. The Chestnut headed Bee-eater (*Melittophagus erythrocephalus erythrocephalus*) and the Blue-beard Bee-eater (*Bucia athertoni*) both inhabit the lower Himalayas and have both been obtained in Nepal.

SUB-ORDER HALCYONES

FAMILY ALCEDINIDAE (Kingfishers)

The common Indian Kingfisher (*Alcedo atthis bengalensis*) is recorded by Scully as being common in the central Valley of Nepal and in the lower valleys and plains. The Indian Pied Kingfisher (*Ceryle rudis leucomelanura*) is presumably rare and has only been observed by Scully in the Nayakot District; it does not occur in the Himalayas above a very moderate elevation. The Himalayan Pied Kingfisher (*Ceryle lugubris gutturalata*) is found throughout the Himalayas up to 7,000 feet. Hodgson's list includes the Ruddy Kingfisher (*Entomothera coramanda coramanda*), inhabiting in Eastern Nepal up to 5,000 feet; the Brown-headed Stork-billed Kingfisher (*Ramphalcyon capensis gurali*), restricted to the base of the hills; the Three-toed Kingfisher (*Ceryx tridactylus tridactylus*); and the Indian White-breasted Kingfisher (*Halcyon smyrnensis fusca*), stated by Scully to be common in the Valley of Nepal.

SUB-ORDER BUCEROTES

BUCEROTIDAE (Hornbills)

Hodgson records four species of Hornbills as occurring within the State. The Great Indian Hornbill or Homrai (*Dichoceros bicornis*); the Large

Indian Pied Hornbill (*Anthracoceros coronatus affinis*); the Rufous-necked Hornbill (*Aceros nepalensis*); and the common Grey Hornbill (*Lophoceros birostris*). With the exception of the Rufous-necked Hornbill, which ascends the Himalayas up to 6,000 feet, these hornbills occur in the forests of the lower hills commonly below 2,000 or 3,000 feet.

SUB-ORDER UPUPIAE

UPUPIDAE (Hoopoes)

Two examples of the Tibetan Hoopoe (*Upupa epops saturata*) were obtained by Col. Kennion at Nayakot. The Hodgson collection at the British Museum includes a specimen of the Indian Hoopoe (*Upupa epops orientalis*). During the Mount Everest expedition this Hoopoe was observed "flying over a glacier at 21,000 feet."

ORDER MACROCHIRES

SUB-ORDER

APIIDAE (Swifts)

The common Indian House Swift (*Apus affinis affinis*) is, according to Scully, abundant in the Nepal Valley for eight months of the year, but migrates southwards during winter, returning about the first week in March. Two other species recorded by Hodgson are the White-necked Spinetail (*Hirundinapus caudacuta nudipes*), recognized by the rigid shafts of its tail-feathers which project for some distance beyond the tip, and the Himalayan Swiftlet (*Collocalia fuciphaga brevirostris*), which occurs throughout the Himalayas up to considerable elevations (12,000 feet) and is, according to Scully, common on the hills round the Nepal Valley from 6,000 feet upwards.

SUB-ORDER CAPRIMULGI

CAPRIMULGIDAE (Nightjars)

The Himalayan Jungle Nightjar (*Caprimulgus indicus jota*) is said by Scully to be uncommon in the Nepal Valley, but to occur more usually in the foothills; it has been recorded, however, as breeding in Eastern Nepal between 7,000 and 8,000 feet. The Nepal Long-tailed Nightjar (*Caprimulgus macrurus nipalensis*) occurs more commonly in the plains than in the hills. A specimen was obtained by Baptista in the Tarai.

ORDER TROGONES

TROGONIDAE (Trogons)

The Red-headed Trogon (*Pyrotrogon erythrocephalus erythrocephalus*) has been recorded from Eastern Nepal and is found up to about 5,000 feet. Like all trogons it is purely a forest species.

ORDER COCCYGES

CUCULIDÆ (Cuckoos)

The Asiatic Cuckoo (*Cuculus canorus telephonus*) is extremely common in the central woods of the Valley of Nepal and the surrounding hill forests up to about 6,000 feet between April and October; it has been obtained up to 9,000 feet in the eastern limits of Nepal, and several examples were secured in the Tarai in March. The Himalayan Cuckoo (*Cuculus optatus*) is less common in the central Valley. It arrives in May and leaves in September, when Scully was inclined to believe that it descended to the lower valleys for the winter. The Small Cuckoo (*Cuculus intermedius intermedius*) and the Indian Cuckoo (*Cuculus micropterus micropterus*) both occur throughout the Himalayas; the former species was taken at 7,000 feet in East Nepal in April. The Large Hawk-Cuckoo (*Hierococcyx sparveroides*) is a seasonal visitant to the central Valley, arriving in April and descending to the lower levels in September. The common Hawk Cuckoo (*H. varius*) and Hodgson's Hawk Cuckoo (*H. fugax nivicolor*) are both recorded; the former visits the Valley in small numbers where, according to Scully, it arrives much earlier than other cuckoos, he having obtained specimens in February. Other cuckoos occurring in Nepal are the Emerald Cuckoo (*Chalcococcyx maculatus*); the Indian Plaintive Cuckoo (*Cacomantis merulinus passerinus*); the Indian Drongo Cuckoo (*Surmiculus lugubris dicruroides*), obtained by Baptista in the Tarai; the Pied Crested Cuckoo (*Clamator jacobinus*) obtained during the Mount Everest expedition at 14,000 feet; and the Red-winged Crested Cuckoo (*Clamator coromandus*). The Indian Koel (*Eudynamis scolopaceus scolopaceus*) arrives in the central Valley at the end of March, where it frequents gardens and groves near houses and villages during April, May, and June, and its cry can continuously be heard. The Large Green-billed Malkoha (*Rhopodytes tristis tristis*) visits the Valley in small numbers between April and September. During the latter month Col. Kennion obtained an example at 11,000 feet; in winter it is common in the Tarai, where several specimens were secured by Baptista. The Hill Sirkeer Cuckoo (*Taccocua sirkee infusata*) is common in the valleys of the lower region during winter, but does not ascend to the higher valleys. The Chinese Crow Pheasant (*Centropus sinensis sinensis*) and the Indian Lesser Crow Pheasant (*C. bengalensis bengalensis*) occur in the foothills and the plains.

ORDER PSITTACI

PSITTACIDÆ (Parrots)

Five species of paroquets occur in Nepal. The vertical distribution of these birds is given by Scully as follows: The species occurring at the highest elevation is the Slaty-headed Paroquet (*Psittacula schisticeps schisticeps*); it is very common in the Valley of Nepal in winter and is

found up to 8,000 feet. Next in order comes the Indian Red-breasted Paroquet (*Psittacula alexandri fasciata*); this species is very common in the central Valley between August and October. The Blossom-Headed Paroquet (*P. cyanocephala cyanocephala*) is common in the forests of the lower valleys and the duns, but does not occur in the central Valley except as a straggler. The Eastern Blossom-headed Paroquet (*Psittacula cyanocephala bengalensis*), according to Hume, occurs in the Tarai in the extreme east of Nepal. The Large Indian Paroquet (*P. nepalensis*) is very common in the dense sal forests of the foothills and occurs also in the Tarai; whilst the common species of the plains is the ubiquitous Rose-ringed Paroquet (*Psittacula krameri*).

ORDER STRIGES

STRIGIDAE (Owls)

The Indian Barn Owl (*Tyto alba javanica*) is a permanent resident in the Nepal Valley and is usually seen at dusk about woods, groves, and gardens. The Bay Owl (*Photodilus badius badius*) occurs at low elevations; it is a very nocturnal bird, living in dense forest. Both the Long-eared Owl (*Asio otus otus*) and the Short-eared Owl (*Asio flammeus flammeus*) are recorded. They are both winter migrants; the former is said to breed in the higher Himalayan forests, the latter is commonly found during winter in grass in plains. The Himalayan Wood Owl (*Strix aluco nivicolor*) occurs at elevations between 6,000 and 14,000 feet; Nepalese species are said to be more fulvous and rufescent, those from farther west being greyish. The Himalayan Brown Wood Owl (*Strix indranei newarensis*) is reported by Scully as being tolerably common in the Nepal Valley throughout the year, where it inhabits the interior of the woods and forests. The Brown Fish Owl (*Ketupa zeylonensis zeylonensis*) and the Tawny Fish Owl (*Ketupa flavipes*) both occur. The former is rare; Baptista obtained an example in the Tarai; the latter is common below 5,000 feet. Both haunt the banks of rivers and streams. The Indian Great Horned Owl (*Bubo bubo bengalensis*) and the Dusky Rock Horned Owl (*Bubo coromandus coromandus*) occur in the Tarai. The Beautiful Forest Eagle Owl (*Huhuia nipalensis*) has been observed in the central Valley. It is a shy forest species which is seldom seen and has been recorded as breeding in East Nepal during March.

Four species of Scops Owl are included in Mr. Hodgson's list—the Himalayan Scops Owl (*Otus sunia rufipennis*); the Indian Scops Owl (*Otus sunia sunia*), a bird of the plains; the Nepal Scops Owl (*Otus bakkamæna lettia*), occurring from the plains up to 5,000 feet; and the Himalayan Spotted Scops Owl (*Otus spilocephalus*)—the last species is found throughout the Himalayas at elevations between 3,000 and 6,000 feet.

The Indian Spotted Owlet (*Carine noctua indica*) is common in the plains and the foothills—in the central region it is supplanted by the Large Barred Owlet (*Glaucidium cuculoides cuculoides*). Other species recorded are the Jungle Owlet (*Glaucidium radiatum radiatum*), obtained by Col.

Kennion at 7,000 feet; the Collared Pigmy Owlet (*Glaucidium brodiei*), which occurs throughout the Himalayas; and the Brown Hawk Owl (*Ninox scutulata lugubris*). The almost entire absence of the facial disc and ruff gives the birds of the last-named genus a very hawk-like appearance.

ORDER ACCIPITRES (Birds of Prey)

PANDIONIDAE (Osprey)

The Osprey (*Pandion haliaetus haliaetus*) is included in Hodgson's list of Nepal Birds. The Nepalese name is "Macharang." It is a migratory species which visits India in the cold weather.

FAMILY GYPIDAE (Vultures)

Six species of vulture occur in Nepal. Of these the commonest is the White-backed Vulture (*Pseudogyps bengalensis*), which is exceedingly common in the Nepal Valley, where it breeds and lives throughout the year. Stevens records the occurrence of this vulture at over 8,000 feet in East Nepal. The next most common species is the Black Vulture (*Torgos calvus*), distinguished by the brilliant red colouring of its head and feet and the snow-white patch on its breast. The species is a permanent resident in the Valley and is also frequent in the Tarai and the sal forests. The Himalayan Long-billed Vulture (*Gyps tenuirostris*), very similar in appearance to the Indian Long-billed Vulture but differing from it in its completely naked head and slender bill, is fairly common in the Nepal Valley, where it is found in frequent association with White-backed Vultures. The Griffon Vulture (*Gyps fulvus fulvus*) and the Himalayan Griffon Vulture (*Gyps himalayensis*) have both been observed by Scully in the Nepal Valley during the winter months. Both are huge vultures with heads densely covered with hair-like white feathers. The former has narrow shaft stripes on its lower plumage; in the latter these are very broad. Dr. Wollaston observed the Himalayan Griffon Vulture during the Mount Everest expedition in the gorges up to 14,000 feet. The Cinereous Vulture (*Gyps monachus*) is seldom seen and is the least common of the six species recorded from Nepal. To these we must add the Smaller White Scavenger Vulture (*Neophron percnopterus ginginianus*) which has been obtained by Hodgson.

FAMILY FALCONIDAE (Eagles, etc.)

The Lammergyer (*Gypaetus barbatus hemachalanus*) is rare in the central Valley of Nepal; the birds usually keep to rocky hills and precipitous mountains. Wollaston records seeing one flying at 24,000 feet. It can be recognized at a great elevation by its pointed wings and wedge-shaped tail.

Eleven different species of eagles are recorded as occurring in the State. The following are included in Mr. Hodgson's collections: the Himalayan

Golden Eagle (*Aquila chrysaetos daphanea*); the Imperial Eagle (*Aquila heliaca*), a winter visitor; the Small Indian Spotted Eagle (*Aquila hastata*); the Greater Spotted Eagle (*Aquila clanga*); and the Eastern Steppe Eagle (*Aquila nipalensis*), a winter migrant often seen in the Valley of Nepal. Bonelli's Eagle (*Hieraetus fasciatus*) is not very common in the Nepal Valley. There are two specimens of this bird in the British Museum collection obtained within the State. Other species recorded are the Booted Eagle (*Hieraetus pennatus*); the Changeable Hawk Eagle (*Hieraetus fasciatus*); Hodgson's Hawk Eagle (*Spizaetus nipalensis nipalensis*); the Changeable Hawk Eagle (*S. cirrhatius linnaetus*); and the Short-toed Eagle (*Circus gallicus*). The Indian Crested Serpent Eagle (*Spilornis cheela cheela*) is tolerably common about the Nepal Valley at all seasons and in the lower region during winter. The last of the species is the Black Eagle (*Ictinaetus malayensis perniger*), a bird seen usually on the wing, soaring over forests with a steady, graceful harrier-like flight. It is a shy bird which adheres generally to the wild and mountainous tracts of the central and northern regions. The White-eyed Buzzard (*Butastur teesa*), a common species throughout the greater part of India in open plains and cultivated countries, occurs in Nepal.

Two species of Fishing Eagle occur: they will be found in the vicinity of wooded streams and the marshes. These are the Large Grey-headed Fishing Eagle (*Polioaetus ichthyaetus*), a large brown eagle with a grey head and white-tipped tail; and Pallas' Fishing Eagle (*Cunecuma leucorypha*). The species is generally found on the banks of the larger rivers near to where they issue into the plains; it is rare in the central Valley.

The Brahmany Kite (*Haliastur indus indus*), readily recognized by its chestnut body and white head and breast, is very common in the plains and occurs in the Valley of Nepal as a rare straggler.

The common Pariah Kite (*Milvus migrans govinda*) is recorded as occurring up to an elevation of about 12,000 feet in the Himalayas, but it is not common above 8,000 feet. The Black-eared Kite (*Milvus lineatus*) has been observed by Scully in the central Valley. It is a migratory species and is a shyer and larger bird than the common Kite, keeping more to the jungles and marshes. In flight a large patch of white under the wing is readily discernible in some specimens. It has been observed in Eastern Nepal at 10,160 feet. The fifth species recorded is the Black-winged Kite (*Elanus coeruleus*), a small kite with white lower and grey upper parts and a black patch on the wings and brilliant crimson eyes. It will not be found in dense forest but prefers well wooded cultivated country.

Five species of harriers are recorded from Nepal. They are mainly migratory birds which are to be seen during the winter. Of these the Hen Harrier (*Circus cyaneus*) is fairly common in the central region; the Marsh Harrier (*Circus aeruginosus aeruginosus*) is common throughout the winter both in the Tarai and in the Nepal Valley; the beautiful Pied Harrier (*Circus melanoleucus*) is restricted to the plains, where it is frequently seen hunting over swamps and flooded rice fields. The Pale Harrier (*Circus macrourus*) and Montagu's Harrier (*Circus pygargus*) complete the list.

Two examples of the genus *Buteo*, representing the true Buzzards, are recorded. The Long-legged Buzzard (*Buteo ferox*) is common in the central Valley and is frequently seen hunting over streams and wet fields. Its flight is characteristic—four or five slow, steady flaps and then a sail with wings expanded. The Japanese Desert Buzzard (*Buteo japonicus*), which breeds in the higher Himalayas, is recorded by Scully as being less common in the central Valley than *ferox*. The Upland Buzzard (*Buteo hemilasius*) is a very rare species obtained at high elevations in Nepal, Sikkim, and Kulu.

Both the Eastern Goshawk (*Astur gentilis schvedowi*) and the Shikra (*Astur badius dussumieri*) are commonly seen as trained birds in Nepal; both are rare in the wild state. The Shikra breeds at moderate elevation. Other species recorded are the Crested Goshawk (*Astur trivirgatus rufitinctus*), the Larger Besra Sparrow-hawk (*Accipiter affinis*), both hill-forest species, and the Indian Sparrow-hawk (*Accipiter nisus melanoschistus*), which is resident and breeds in the Himalayas. It has been observed in the eastern limits of Nepal at 10,160 feet in March.

The Indian Crested Honey-Buzzard (*Pernis cristatus ruficollis*) occurs on the slopes of the lower hills (4,000 feet) and in the plains.

The Black-crested Baza (*Lophastur leuphotes leuphotes*), one of the most beautiful of acciptrine birds with black upper plumage and a long nuchal crest, is also recorded.

The genus *Falco* is well represented within the borders of the State. Nine species have been recorded.

The Indian Peregrine Falcon (*Falco peregrinus calidus*), a winter migrant, has been observed in the central zone and the Tarai. The Shalin Falcon (*F. peregrinus peregrinator*), which differs from the former in its blackish crown and deep rufous breast, and the Lugger Falcon (*Falco jugger*), a bird of open, dry plains and cultivation, also occur. Both the Hobby (*Falco subbuteo subbuteo*), which breeds in the Western Himalayas, and the Indian Hobby (*F. severus rufipedoides*) occur; the former has a whitish or buff breast streaked with brown, in the latter the breast is deep rufous. The Red-headed Merlin (*Falco chiquera chiquera*) is very common in the Nepal Valley, where it lives throughout the year. The Indian Kestrel (*Tinnunculus tinnunculus interstinctus*), according to Scully, is a seasonal visitor to the lower central region, where it is common in October; an example was obtained by Col. Kennion at 7,000 feet. The Chinese Lesser Kestrel (*Falco naumanni pekinensis*), a migratory species, has also been recorded. The Red-legged Falconet (*Microhierax coerulescens coerulescens*)—a pigmy falcon the size of a thrush, which differs from all acciptrine birds in that the members of the genus breed, like the owls, in holes in trees, was obtained by Hodgson; this species occurs in the Himalayas below 2,000 feet. A specimen was also obtained by Col. Kennion at Bhuguwada.

ORDER COLUMBAE

COLUMBIDAE (Pigeons and Doves)

The Bengal Green Pigeon (*Crocopus phoenicopterus phoenicopterus*), which occurs in the lower hills, is plentiful in the Nayakot district, the lower valleys, and the Tarai. The Thick-billed Green Pigeon (*Treron curvirostra nipalensis*), the "Thoria" of the Nepalese, though usually confined to the base of the foothills, was obtained by Col. Kennion at 11,000 feet. The Pin-tailed Green Pigeon (*Sphenocercus apicaudus*), a bird "more exclusively of evergreen forest," occurs in the lower region. The Wedge-tailed Green Pigeon (*Sphenocercus sphenurus*), according to Scully, breeds in the hills round the Valley of Nepal. The Green Imperial Pigeon (*Muscadivora aenea sylvatica*) occurs in the Tarai. Hodgson's Imperial Pigeon (*Ducula badia insignis*), the "Dukue," occupies a range between 1,000 and 6,000 feet, but is commoner below 4,000 feet. The Bronze-winged Dove (*Chalcophaps indica*) occurs throughout the Himalayas in forest country from the base to 6,000 feet. The Indian Blue Rock Pigeon (*Columba livia intermedia*) is a permanent resident in the Valley of Nepal. The Snow Pigeon (*Columba leuconota leuconota*) occurs throughout the Himalayas at considerable elevation; it breeds above 10,000 feet, though in winter it descends to about 5,000 feet. The Speckled Wood Pigeon (*Dendrotreron hodgsoni*), also a bird of high elevation (10,000 to 13,000 feet), visits the central Valley in winter. The Ashy Wood Pigeon (*Alseodotis pulchricollis*) occurs from 7,000 to 10,000 feet. The Rufous Turtle Dove (*Streptopelia orientalis orientalis*), according to Scully, is fairly common in the Nepal Valley throughout the year. In May, June, and July it is found only in the forests from 7,000 to 8,000 feet, where it breeds. The species is scarcer in the central part of the Valley between January and March, when the majority of these birds move down to the lower levels. In the latter part of March and April it is again common in the central woods. In the Mai (Khola) Valley in East Nepal Stevens notes that all birds obtained at 7,000 feet were intermediate between *orientalis* and *S. orientalis meena*. A pair of breeding birds were taken by him in May. The Spotted Dove (*Streptopelia chinensis suratensis*), a common species almost throughout India, is a permanent resident of the Nepal Valley. The Indian Ring-Dove (*Streptopelia decaocto decaocto*) occurs in the Himalayas up to 8,000 or 9,000 feet, but is not resident above 4,000 feet. The Sikkim Red-Turtle Dove (*Oenopopelia tranquebarica murmensis*) occurs in the plains, the Indian Bar-tailed Cuckoo Dove (*Macropygia leptogrammica tusalia*) occurs throughout the Himalayas from 3,000 to 10,000 feet.

ORDER GALLINAE

PHASIANIDAE (Pheasants and Partridges)

The Common Peafowl (*Pavo cristatus*) is found at the base of the foothills below 2,000 feet; according to Scully it does not extend higher and

does not occur in a wild state in the central Valley. The Indian Jungle Fowl (*Gallus gallus murghi*) is common in the duns and the jungles of the Tarai; it was obtained by Col. Kennion at 8,000 feet. The Cheer Pheasant (*Calreus wallichii*) is not uncommon in the hills north of the Valley of Nepal. The Nepal Koklas (*Pucrasia macrolopha nipalensis*) inhabits Western Nepal. Scully obtained specimens at Jumla. Scully places the eastern limit of the Nepal Kalij (*Gennaeus leucomelanus leucomelanus*) as far as the Aum River; the bird is common in thick forest from the lower hills to about 9,000 feet. Beyond the River Aum eastwards the Nepal Kalij is replaced by the Black-backed Kalij (*Gennaeus leucomelanus melanotus*), which has been taken in the eastern limits of Nepal. The Beautiful Monaul Pheasant (*Lophophorus impejanus*), known to the Nepalese as the "Dafa" or "Dafia," is common in the interior of Nepal at high elevations, but it is not found within the tract normally visited by Europeans. The Crimson Tragopan (*Tragopan satyra*), to which the Nepalese attribute the term "Monal" (Scully), "is common in the hills north of the Nepal Valley four days' march from Katmandu." The Blood Pheasant (*Ithagene cruentus cruentus*) is rare. It is a bird of high elevation occurring between 10,000 and 14,000 feet. The Red-spur Fowl (*Galloperdix spadicea spadicea*) occurs in the Himalayan Tarai.

The Common Quail (*Coturnix coturnix coturnix*) is found in great numbers in the Valley of Nepal from the middle of October to the middle of December and again from the latter end of March to the end of April (Scully). Other species recorded are the Blue-throated Quail (*Excalfactoria chinensis*) and the Black-breasted or Rain Quail (*Coturnix coramandelica*), both confined to the plains of the Tarai. The Common Hill Partridge (*Arboricola torqueola torqueola*) and the Rufous-throated Hill Partridge (*Arboricola rufogularis rufogularis*) occur in the densely wooded nullahs of the hills round the Valley of Nepal. The former bird was found to be common in East Nepal from 7,000 to 10,000 feet during March and April. The Chukar (*Alectoris graeca chukar*) breeds above 6,000 feet; Scully describes it as common in certain parts of these hills between March and October. Col. Kennion obtained it at 11,000 feet. The Black Partridge (*Francolinus francolinus asiae*) is common at this time in the same area and is found in the lower hills and plains throughout the year.

HEMIPODII

TURNICIDAE (Bustard-Quails)

The Common Bustard-Quail (*Turnix javanica taigoor*), the Little Button Quail (*Turnix dussumieri*), and the Indian Button Quail (*Turnix tanki tanki*) all occur in the sub-Himalayan region.

ORDER GRALLAE

RALLIDAE (Rails, Crakes, Water-Hens, etc.)

The great majority of wading and swimming birds which occur in Nepal are migratory species visiting the country during the cold weather. These birds arrive from the north towards and at the close of the rains and as regularly reappear from the south at the onset of the hot weather. Hodgson noted three classes of these migrants. Certain species merely pass over the central Valley or alight in it for a few hours; others stay in it for a few weeks, while the third class spend the entire season in the Valley. Finally a few species are not migratory and are resident in the central Valley throughout the year. The first to arrive are the Snipes. These are followed by the Scolopaceous Waders, next by the great birds of the Heron, Stork, and Crane families, then the Ducks, and lastly the Woodcock, which do not arrive till November. The time of the reappearance of these birds from the south is the beginning of March, and they go on arriving till the middle of May; the first to return are the Snipes; then come the Teal and Ducks, and lastly the Cranes and Storks.

The following species are recorded—the Eastern Baillons Crake (*Porzana pusilla pusilla*), common in the Valley of Nepal July to December; Elwes Crake (*Porzana bicolor*), obtained in Eastern Nepal in May. The Banded Crake (*Rallina superciliaris*), the Chinese White-breasted Water-Hen (*Amurornis phoenicurus chinensis*), the Indian Moor Hen (*Gallinula chloropus parvifrons*), the Water-Cock (*Gallicrex cinerea*), the Indian Purple Coot (*Porphyrio poliocephalus poliocephalus*) and the Common Coot (*Fulica atra atra*). The above species are distributed practically all over India. The majority of these species spend a few days or at most weeks in the central Valley during southward and northward migration. The Common Coot remains in the Valley throughout the cold weather.

SUB-ORDER MEGALORNES (Cranes)

Scully states that the Common Crane (the Eastern Crane) (*Megalornis grus lilfordi*) is common in winter in the Tarai and the Hetaura duns; like other cranes, it passes over the Valley during migration and may alight for a few hours. The same might be said of the Demoiselle Crane (*Anthropoides virgo*), which, with the Sarus Crane (*Megalornis antigone*) is also common in the Tarai and the duns in winter. Both these species are commonly kept in confinement in the Nepal Valley.

SUB-ORDER OTIDES

FAMILY OTIDIDAE (Bustards)

The Lesser Florican (*Sypheotides indica*) was obtained by Hodgson in the Valley of Nepal where, according to him, it appears in the middle of May and disappears in the middle of June.

ORDER LIMICOLAE

Hodgson's list includes: the Indian Stone-Curlew (*Burhinus oedicephalus indicus*), the Great Stone Plover (*Esacus recurvirostris*), the Indian Courser (*Cursorius coromandelicus*), a bird of open dry country, and the Large Indian Swallow Plover (*Glareola maldivarum*)—all species confined to the plains. Both the Pheasant-tailed Jacana (*Hydrophasianus chirurgus*) and the Bronze-winged Jacana (*Metopodius indicus*) are mentioned by Hodgson. The Red Wattled Lapwing (*Lobivanellus indicus indicus*) and the Yellow Wattled Lapwing (*Sarciophorus malabaricus*) occur; the former is common in the Nepal Valley throughout the year. The Spur-winged Plover (*Hoplopterus ventralis*) is common in summer in the Nepal Valley where, according to Scully, it breeds. Other species recorded are the Lapwing (*Vanellus vanellus*), the Eastern Grey Plover (*Squatarola squatarola hypomelana*), the Eastern Golden Plover (*Pluvialis dominicus fulvus*), which arrives in September and is common in the rice fields, and Jerdon's Ringed Plover (*Charadrius dubius jerdoni*), which is very common in the Nepal Valley from September to June and in the plains during winter. Scully only met with the Long-billed Ringed Plover (*Charadrius placidus*) in November on the banks of the streams in the Nayakot district. The Black-winged Stilt (*Himantopus himantopus himantopus*), the Avocet (*Recurvirostra avocetta avocetta*), and the Ibis Bill (*Ibidorhyncha struthersii*) are recorded. The two former species are winter visitors, the last named is resident in the inner and higher Himalayas.

TOTANINAE (Curlews, Sandpipers, Stints, etc.)

The Eastern Curlew (*Numenius arquatus lineatus*) is a winter visitor to the Valley of Nepal; the Whimbrel (*Numenius phaeopus phaeopus*) and the Black-tailed Godwit (*Limosa limosa limosa*) also occur. Other winter visitors to the country are the Common Sandpiper (*Tringa hypoleuca*) the Wood Sandpiper (*Tringa glareola*), and the Green Sandpiper (*Tringa ochropus*), the Spotted or Dusky Redshank (*Tringa erythropus*), the Redshank (*Tringa totanus totanus*), and the Greenshank (*Tringa nebularia*). The Little Stint (*Erolia minuta*), Temminck's Stint (*Erolia temminckii*), and the Ruff and Reeve (*Philomachus pugnax*) are also to be included in the list of recorded species. The majority of these waders use the central Valley as a stage during their passage to and from the plains.

SCOLOPACINAE (Snipe and Woodcock)

"The Woodcock—(*Scolopax rusticola rusticola*) the 'Sim Kukra' of the Nepalese arrives in the Valley of Nepal early in November and leaves at the end of February. It frequents the small woods in the centre of the Valley and may be found along the foot of the hills in damp tree forest." The Woodcock breeds freely throughout the Himalayas above 10,000 feet and possibly lower.

The Wood Snipe (*Capella nemoricola*) is presumably rare in the Valley. Scully only noted it on two occasions in winter. The Solitary Snipe (*Capella solitaria*), known as the "Bharka," is fairly common and it remains in the Valley from October to about the beginning of March, frequenting sloping grass-covered ground at the foot of the hills. Both the Wood Snipe and the Solitary Snipe breed in the higher ranges of the Himalayas. The Common Fantail Snipe (*Capella gallinago gallinago*), the "Bharak" of the Nepalese, and the Pintail Snipe (*Capella stenura*) arrive about the end of August and leave the Valley in May. They are both commoner particularly during the southward migration in September and October and again during the northward migration in March and April. The same may be said of the Jack Snipe (*Limnocyptes minima*), which arrives at the beginning of September and does not leave till about the middle of April. The Painted Snipe (*Rostratula bengalensis bengalensis*) is included in Hodgson's list. It is found at considerable elevations in the Himalayas where there are swamps and lakes.

ORDER GAVIAE

LARIDAE (Gulls and Terns)

Hodgson records the following species: the Brown-headed Gull (*Larus brunnicapillus*) during migration, the Indian River Tern (*Sterna seena*), the Indian Whiskered Tern (*Chlidonias leucopareia indica*), and the Indian Skinner (*Rhyncops albicollis*).

ORDER STEGANOPONES

PELECANIDAE AND PHALACROCORACIDAE (Pelicans and Cormorants)

Hodgson's list includes the Spot-billed Pelican (*Pelecanus philippensis*) which occurs throughout the better-watered tracts of India and is the only pelican which breeds within Indian limits. The Indian Large Cormorant (*Phalacrocorax carbo sinensis*), the Indian Shag (*Phalacrocorax fuscicollis*), and the Little Cormorant (*Phalacrocorax javanicus*), by far the commonest of Indian Cormorants, and the Indian Darter or Snake Bird (*Anhinga melanogaster*) are recorded as occurring in Nepal. Cormorants, according to Hodgson, are to be found throughout the cold season in the larger rivers within the mountains, but none ever halt in the Valley of Nepal for more than a day or so, during which time both they and the pelicans may be seen in the larger tanks in the Valley.

ORDER HERODIONES

IBIDIDAE, PLATALEIDAE CICONIDAE (Ibises, Spoonbills, and Storks)

The White Ibis (*Threskiornis melanocephalus melanocephalus*), the Indian Black Ibis (*Inocotus papillosus papillosus*), the Glossy Ibis (*Plegadis*

falcinellus falcinellus), and the Indian Spoonbill (*Platalea leucorodia major*) are included in Hodgson's list of Nepalese birds. The Black Stork (*Ciconia nigra*) and the White-necked Stork (*Dissoura episcopa episcopa*) are both common on the banks of streams and ponds and in the rice fields in the central Valley during the cold season. The Black-necked Stork (*Xenorhynchus asiaticus asiaticus*), the Adjutant (*Leptoptilus dubius*), the Painted Stork (*Pseudotantalus leucocephalus leucocephalus*), and the Open-bill (*Anastomus oscitans*) also occur.

FAMILY ARDEIDAE

(Hérons, Egrets, and Bitterns)

The Eastern Purple Heron (*Ardea purpurea manillensis*) and the Common Grey Heron (*Ardea cinerea cinerea*), the Eastern Large Egret (*Egretta alba modesta*), and the Indian Smaller Egret (*Egretta intermedia intermedia*) visit the Nepal Valley during the cold weather; the Little Egret (*Egretta garzetta garzetta*) is common in the Tarai and the plains and in the Nayakot district in winter, but a few birds stray to the central Valley in autumn. The Cattle Egret (*Bubulcus ibis coromandus*) and the Pond Heron (*Ardeola grayii*) are both permanent residents in the Valley, the lower hills, and the plains. The Indian Little Green Heron (*Butorides striatus javanicus*) and the Night Heron (*Nycticorax nycticorax nycticorax*) are also resident species; the latter is very common in the Nepal Valley. Two species of Bittern occur: the Yellow Bittern (*Ixobrychus sinensis*) and the Common Bittern (*Botaurus stellaris stellaris*); the last-named species is a winter visitor to India.

ORDER ANSERES

ANATIDAE (Swans, Geese, Ducks, etc.)

According to Hodgson the Whooper Swan (*Cygnus cygnus*) was once observed in the Nepal Valley in the mid-winter of 1828. Other species mentioned by him are the Pink-headed Duck (*Rhodonessa caryophyllacea*) and the Cotton Teal (*Nettopus coromandelianus*); the last named being a resident species in India. Two species of Geese are mentioned in his list—the Grey Lag Goose (*Anser anser*) and the Bar-headed Goose (*Anser indicus*).

Coming to the true Ducks it will be seen from Scully's observation that the various Wild Ducks which visit the Nepal Valley are commonest during the southward migration between September and November, while between December and March few species remain in the Valley. Between March and April the northward migration commences and the Ducks are again plentiful. The following species are recorded: the Lesser Whistling Teal (*Dendrocygna javanica*), Sheldrake (*Tadorna tadorna*), Ruddy Sheldrake (*Casarca ferruginea*), Mallard (*Anas platyrhynchos platyrhynchos*), the Indian Spotbill (*A. poecilorhynchos poecilorhynchos*), the Gadwall (*Chaulelasmus*

strepceus), the Common Teal (*N. crecca crecca*), and the Pintail (*D. acuta*), one of the commonest ducks in the Nepal Valley. The Wigeon (*Mareca penelope*) and the Blue-winged Teal (*Querquedula querquedula*) remain in the Valley throughout the cold season, but not in great numbers. The Shoveler (*Spatula clypeata*) is common during migration. Other species are the Pochard (*Nyroca ferina ferina*), White-eye (*N. rufa rufa*), Scaup (*N. marila marila*), a very rare straggler into North India, and the Tufted Pochard (*N. fuligula*).

Scully observed the Eastern Goosander (*Merganser merganser orientalis*) in the Nayakot district.

ORDER PYGPODES

PODICIPIDIDAE (Grebes)

The list is concluded with the mention of the Great Crested Grebe (*Podiceps cristatus cristatus*) and the Indian Little Grebe (*P. ruficollis albipennis*). The last named is common in the tanks in the Nepal Valley from September to May.

REPTILES

The existing records of reptiles actually collected in Nepal are very meagre. Below are indicated the various genera and species which have been actually obtained or which, from the standpoint of the known distribution region, are likely to occur.

CROCODILES

The Mugger or Marsh Crocodile (*Crocodilus palustris*) occurs in the Tarai.

TORTOISES AND TURTLES

The Chelonia are represented in Hodgson's collection by four species: Horsfield's Tortoise (*Testudo horsfieldi*), the two aquatic Tortoises (*Kachuja lineata* and *Kachuja dhongoka*), and the Mud Turtle (*Trionyx gangeticus*). *Trionyx hurum* is also likely to occur.

LIZARDS

The Common Indian House Geckos (*Hemidactylus gleadowi*, *Hemidactylus leichenhaulti*, and *Hemidactylus coctasi*), which are generally distributed throughout India, will probably be found to occur in the plains. Two species recorded from the Eastern Himalayas are *Hemidactylus garnoti* and *H. platyrus*. Of the Agamid Lizards the Common Bloodsucker (*Calotes versicolor*) is common in Nepal. Other allied species are *Acanthosura minor*, *Japalura variegata*, and the Rock Lizard (*Agama tuberculata*); the last

named is common in the West Himalayas. The Slow Worm (*Ophisaurus grailis*) is also likely to occur. Hodgson obtained an example of the Yellow Monitor (*Varanus flavescens*) in the Residency grounds at Katmandu, but believed it was imported from the plains. He states that the Monitor occurs in the lower region. The Common Indian Monitor (*Varanus bengalensis*) will also be found in the plains.

The Common Skink (*Mabuia carinata*), which is widely distributed in India, is likely to occur in the plains, where *Mabuia dissimilis* will also probably be found. Other Skinks likely to occur are *Lygosoma indicum* (common at Darjiling), *Lygosoma maculatum*, and *Lygosoma Sikkimense*, occurring between 3,000 and 10,000 feet in the Eastern Himalayas. *Lygosoma himalayanum* is a West Himalayan species, while the Dotted Skink (*L. punctatum*) ranges from the base of the Himalayas to Ceylon.

SNAKES

TYPHLOPHIDÆ

- Common Blind Snake (*Typhlops brahminus*).
 Diard's Blind Snake (*Typhlops diardi*), Eastern Himalayas.
 Stoliczka's Snake (*Typhlops porrectus*), Himalayas.

BOIDÆ

- Common Python (*P. molurus*), Himalayan Plains.

COLUBRIDÆ

- Jerdon's Polyodont (*Polyodontophis collaris*), Himalayas.
 Gray's Polyodont (*P. sagittarius*), Western Himalayas.
 Anderson's Keelback (*Natrix paralellus*), Nepal to Sikkim.
 Common Keelback (*Nerodia piscator*), Himalayas and Peninsular India.
 Blyth's Keelback (*Rhabdophis platyceps*), Himalayas.
 Orange Collared Keelback (*R. himalayanus*), Eastern Himalayas.
 Buff Striped Keelback (*R. stolatus*), Himalayas and Peninsular India.
 Vermilion-necked Keelback (*R. subminiatus*), Eastern Himalayas.
 Firth's Keelback (*Rhabdophis firthi*) (*chrysargus*?), Eastern Himalayas.
 The Mock Cobra (*Pseudoxenodon angusticeps*), Eastern Himalayas.
 The Olivaceous Keelback (*Helicops schistosus*), Base of Himalayas.
 Black-bellied Roughside (*Trachischium fuscum*), Eastern Himalayas.
 Yellow-bellied Roughside (*Trachischium tenuiceps*), Himalayas.
 Common Wolf Snake (*Lycodon aulicus*), Himalayas and Indian Peninsula.
 Anderson's Wolf Snake (*L. fasciatus*), Eastern Himalayas.
 Mackinnon's Wolf Snake (*L. mackinnoni*), Western Himalayas.
 Gammie's Wolf Snake (*Dinodon gammiei*), Eastern Himalayas

- Jerdon's Wolf Snake (*D. septentrionalis*), Eastern Himalayas.
 Dhaman or Common Rat Snake (*Ptyas mucosus*), India.
 Blyth's Rat Snake (*Ptyas nigromarginatus*), Eastern Himalayas.
 Fasciolated Rat Snake (*Zamenis fasciolatus*), Base of Himalayas.
 Blyth's Coluber (*Coluber prasinus*), Eastern Himalayas.
 Broad-barred Coluber (*Coluber porphyraceus*), Eastern Himalayas.
 Copper-headed Coluber (*Coluber radiatus*), Eastern Himalayas and the Tarai.
 Cantor's Coluber (*Coluber cantoris*), Eastern Himalayas.
 Hodgson's Coluber (*Coluber hodgsoni*), Himalayas.
 Boie's Coluber (*Coluber oxycephalus*), Eastern Himalayas.
 Dandin's Coluber or the Trinket Snake (*Coluber helenae*), Himalayas and plains.
 Gore's Bronze-back (*Dendrophis gorei*), Eastern Himalayas.
 Gmelin's Bronze-back (*Dendrophis pictus*), Himalayas.
 Variegated Kukhri Snake (*Oligodon taeniolatus*), Western Himalayas.
 Wall's Kukhri Snake (*O. melaneus*), Eastern Himalayas.
 Violaceous Kukhri Snake (*O. violaceus*), Eastern Himalayas.
 Common Kukhri Snake (*Oligodon arnensis*), Himalayas and plains.
 Red-bellied Kukhri Snake (*O. erythrogaster*), Eastern Himalayas.
 Large-spotted Kukhri Snake (*O. juglandifer*), Eastern Himalayas.
 Light-barred Kukhri Snake (*O. albocinctus*), Eastern Himalayas.
 Schlegel's Kukhri Snake (*O. purpurascens*), Eastern Himalayas.
 Stoliczka's Smooth Snake (*Liopeltis stoliczkae*), Eastern Himalayas.
 Gunther's Smooth Snake (*L. calamaria*), Himalayas.
 Rapp's Smooth Snake (*L. rappi*), Himalayas.
 Schneider's Water Snake (*Hypsirhina enhydria*), Streams of the Tarai.
 Common Cat Snake (*Dipsadomorphus trigonatus*), Himalayas and plains.
 Gray's Cat Snake (*D. gokool*), Eastern Himalayas.
 Himalayan Cat Snake (*D. multifasciatus*), Himalayas.
 Stoliczka's Cat Snake (*D. stoliczkae*), Eastern Himalayas.
 Collard Cat Snake (*D. nuchalis*), Himalayas.
 Green Cat Snake (*Boiga cyanea*), Eastern Himalayas.
 Boie's Cat Snake (*B. cynodon*), Eastern Himalayas.
 Forsten's Cat Snake (*B. forstenii*), Himalayas.
 Mock Viper (*Psammodynastes pulverulentus*), Eastern Himalayas, hills, and plains.
 Boie's Whip Snake (*Dryophis prasinus*), Eastern Himalayas, hills, and plains.
 Common Green Whip Snake (*Dryophis mycterizans*), Eastern Himalayas, hills, and plains.
 Golden Tree Snake (*Chrysopelea ornata*), Eastern Himalayas.

ELAPINAE

- Common Krait (*Bungarus caeruleus*), Himalayas and plains.
 Lesser Black Krait (*Bungarus lividus*), Eastern Himalayas.

Greater Black Krait (*Bungarus niger*), Eastern Himalayas.
 King Cobra (*N. hanah*), Himalayas.
 Common Cobra (*Naia naia*), Himalayas 5,000 feet, hills, and plains.
 McClelland's Coral Snake (*Calliophis macclellandi*), Himalayas.
 Cantor's Slug Snake (*Amblycephalus monticola*), Eastern Himalayas.

VIPERIDAE

Russell's Viper (*Vipera russelli*), Western Nepal.
 Himalayan Pit Viper (*Ancistrodon himalayanus*).
 Green Pit Viper or Bamboo Snake (*Trimeresurus gramineus*), Himalayas.
 Stoliczka's Pit Viper (*T. monticola*), Eastern Himalayas.

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APPENDIX XIV

FLORA OF NEPAL

LIST of Nepal plants compiled under the authority of the Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.¹

DICOTYLEDONS

RANUNCULACEAE

Clematis acuminata DC.

grewiaeflora DC.

Buchanani DC.

napaulensis DC.

montana Ham.

Gouriana Roxb.

Naravelia zeylanica DC.

Anemone obtusiloba D. Don

rupestris Wall. var. *Wallichii* Bruhl.

elongata D. Don

vitifolia Ham.

rivularis Ham.

polyanthes D. Don

Thalictrum foliolosum DC.

rotundifolium DC.

cultratum Wall.

Ranunculus diffusus DC.

sceleratus Linn.

pensylvanicus Linn.

Caltha palustris Linn.

Trollius pumilus D. Don

Delphinium scabrifolium D. Don

ajacis Linn.

altissimum Wall. var. *nipalensis* Benth.

viscosum Hook. f. & T. var. *chrysotricha* Bruhl.

¹ The list is compiled from the following sources: D. Don's *Prodromus Florae Nepalensis*; N. Wallich's *Tentamen Florae Nepalensis*; Col. R. H. Beddome's *Ferns of British India*; *The Flora of British India*; Sir G. King and Pantling's *The Orchids of Sikkim-Himalayas in Annals of the Calcutta Garden*, vol. viii; I. H. Burkill's *Notes from a Journey to Nepal—Records of the Botanical Survey of India*, vol. iv, p. 4.

The nomenclature of the first three works is in many cases obsolete, the names, therefore, have been checked with more recent works and the modern equivalents have been included.

Delphinium speciosum M. Beib.
vestitum Wall.
Aconitum ferox Wall.
ferox Wall. var. *atrox* Wall.
palmatum D. Don
napellus Linn. var. *rigidum* Hook.
 f. & T.

DILLENIACEAE

Dillenia scabrella Roxb.
pentagyna Roxb.
indica Linn.

MAGNOLIACEAE

Magnolia sphenocarpa Roxb.
Manglietia insignis Blume
Michelia lanuginosa Wall.
Kisopa Ham.
excelsa Blume
champaca Linn.
Schizandra grandiflora Hook. f. & T.
propinqua Hook. f. & T.
elongata Hook. f. & T.
Kadsura Roxburghiana Arn.

ANONACEAE

Saccopetalum tomentosum Hook. f.
 & T.

MENISPERMACEAE

Parabaena sagittata Miers
Cocculus villosus DC.
laurifolius DC.
mollis Wall.
Cissampelos Pareira Linn.
Stephania hernandifolia Walp.

BERBERIDACEAE

Holboellia latifolia Wall.
latifolia Wall. var. *angustifolia*
 Hook. f. & T.
Berberis nepalensis Spreng.
aristata DC.
aristata DC. var. *aristata* Hook. f.
 & T.
asiatica Roxb.
angulosa Wall.
Wallichiana DC.

Berberis vulgaris Linn.
insignis Hook. f. & T.

PAPAVERACEAE

Argemone mexicana Linn.
Meconopsis simplicifolia Hook. f. & T.
nipalensis DC.
grandis Prain
bella Prain
robusta Hook. f. & T.
Wallichii Hook.

FUMARIACEAE

Dicentra scandens Walp.
Thalictrifolia Hook. f.
Corydalis rutaefolia Sibth.
meifolia Wall.
chaerophylla DC.
juncea Wall.

CRUCIFERAE

Nasturtium palustre DC.
micranthum DC.
Cardamine hirsuta Linn.
hirsuta Linn. var. *sylvatica* Link.
macrophylla Willd.
nasturioides D. Don
violaceum Wall.
Erysimum hieraciifolium Linn.
Brassica trilocularis Hook. f. & T.
Capsella Bursa-Pastoris Moench.

CAPPARIDACEAE

Capparis spinosa Linn.
multiflora Hook. f. & T.
olacifolia Hook. f. & T.

VIOLACEAE

Viola distans Wall.
distans Wall. var. *distans* Hook. f.
 & T.
biflora Linn.
palmaris Buch.-Ham.
Patrinii DC.
diffusa Ging.
serpens Wall. var. *confusa* Benth.
serpens Wall. var. *glabra* Hook. f.
 & T.
canescens Wall.

BIXACEAE

- Flacourtia Ramontchi* L'Herit.
Xylosma longifolia Clos.
controversum Clos.

POLYGALACEAE

- Polygala leptalca* DC.
persicariaefolia DC.
crotalarioides Ham.
arillata Ham.
triphylla Ham.
Solomonina edentula DC.
oblongifolia DC.

CARYOPHYLLACEAE

- Gypsophila cerastioides* D. Don
Silene inflata Sm.
Lychnis indica Benth.
multicaulis Wall.
Cerastium glomeratum Thuill.
triviale Link.
vulgatum Linn. var. *grandiflora* D.
 Don
Stellaria saxatilis Ham.
aquatica Scop.
longissima Wall.
crispata Wall.
media Linn.
Brachystemma calycinum D. Don
Arenaria globiflora Wall.
densissima Wall.
serpyllifolia Linn.
Drymaria cordata Willd.
Polycarpon Loefflingiae Benth. &
 Hook. f.

HYPERICACEAE

- Hypericum cordifolium* Choisy
cernuum Roxb.
patulum Thunb.
Hookerianum W. & A. var. *Leschen-*
aultii Choisy
elodioides Choisy
napaulense Choisy
japonicum Thunb.

GUTTIFERAE

- Mesua ferrea* Linn.

TERNSTROEMACEAE

- Cleyera ochracea* DC.
ochracea DC. var. *hustia* G. Don
Eurya acuminata DC.
symplocina Blume
Saurauja nepaulensis DC.
fasciculata Wall.
Stachyurus himalaicus Hook f. & T.
Schima Wallichii Choisy
Thea sinensis Linn.
Camellia drupifera Lour.

DIPTEROCARPACEAE

- Shorea robusta* Gaertn.

MALVACEAE

- Sida rhombifolia* Linn.
acuta Burm.
cordifolia Linn.
Urena lobata Linn.
Hibiscus cancellatus Roxb.
Lampas Cav.
Kydia calycina Roxb.
Bombax malabaricum DC.

STERCULIACEAE

- Abroma augusta* Linn.
Eriolaena Wallichii DC.
spectabilis Planch.
Buettneria crenulata Wall.
aspera Coleb.

TILIACEAE

- Grewia scabrophylla* Roxb.
hirsuta Vahl.
oppositifolia Roxb.
sapida Roxb.
polygama Roxb.
Damine Gaertn.
disperma Rottl.
Triumfetta rhomboides Jacq.
annua Linn.
tomentosa Bojcr.
pilosa Roth.
Corchorus capsularis Linn.
olitorius Linn.
Elacocarpus Ganitrus Roxb.
serratus Linn.

LINACEAE

- Linum usitatissimum* Linn.
Reinwardtia trigyna Planch.
tetragyna Planch.
Anisadenia saxatilis Wall.

MALPIGHIACEAE

- Aspidopterys nutans* Hook. f.

GERANIACEAE

- Geranium nepalense* Sweet
collinum M. Bieb.
Wallichianum Sw.
ocellatum Camb.
Grevilleanum Wall.
Oxalis corniculata Linn.
Impatiens densifolia Hook. f.
Pershadiana Hook. f.
aureola Hook. f.
racemosa DC.
leptoceras DC.
scabrida DC.
pulchra Hook. f. & T.
Roylei Walp.
puberula DC.
Jurpia Buch.-Ham.
discolor Wall.
serrata Benth.
urticifolia Wall.
bicornuta Wall.
insignis DC.
stenantha Hook. f.

RUTACEAE

- Ruta cordata* D. Don
Boenninghausenia albiflora Reichb.
Evodia fraxinifolia Hook. f.
Zanthoxylum ovalifolium Wight
alatum Roxb.
Micromelum pubescens Blume
Clausena pentaphylla DC.
Triphasia trifoliata DC.

SIMARUBACEAE

- Picrasma quassioides* Benn.
nepalensis Benn.

OCHNACEAE

- Ochna pumila* Ham.

MELIACEAE

- Azadirachta indica* A. Juss.
Cipadessa baccifera Miq.
Amoora cucullata Roxb.
decandra Hiern.
Heynea trijuga Roxb.
Cedrela Toona Roxb.

OLACACEAE

- Olex nana* Wall.
Schoepfia fragrans Wall.
Natsiatum herpeticum Ham.

AQUIFOLIACEAE

- Ilex dipyrrena* Wall.
excelsa Wall.
odorata Ham.
intricata Hook. f.

CELASTRACEAE

- Euonymus vagans* Wall.
fimbriatus Wall.
grandiflorus Wall.
pendulus Wall.
tingens Wall.
theaeifolius Wall.
Celastrus paniculata Willd.
microcarpa D. Don
stylosa Wall.
Gymnosporia neglecta Wall.

RHAMNACEAE

- Ventilago calyculata* Nil.
Zizyphus Jujuba Lamk.
nummularia W. & A.
Oenoplia Mill.
incurva Roxb.
rugosa Lamk.
xylopyrus Willd.
Berchemia flavescens Wall.
Rhamnus dahuricus Pall.
nipalensis Wall.
Hovenia dulcis Thunb.
Sageretia oppositifolia Brongn.
hamosa Brongn.
Gouania napalensis Wall.

VITACEAE

- Vitis flexuosa* Thunb.
Ampelocissus latifolia Planch.
Tetrastigma serrulatum Planch.
 rumicispermum Planch.
Parthenocissus semicordata Planch
Ampelopsis heterophylla Planch.
Cissus carnosa Planch.
 tenuifolia Planch.
Leea aspera Wall.
 diffusa Laws.

SAPINDACEAE

- Aesculus indica* Coleb.
Acer oblongum Wall.
 caudatum Wall.
 caesium Wall.
 villosum Wall.
Dobinea vulgaris Ham.
Turpinia pomifera DC.

SABIACEAE

- Sabia paniculata* Edgew.
Meliosma simplicifolia Walp.
 pingens Wall.
 Wallichii Planch.

ANACARDIACEAE

- Rhus semi-alata* Murray
 parviflora Roxb.
 Wallichiana Hook. f.
 succedanea Linn.
 succedanea Linn. var. *himalaica*
 Hook. f.
 succedanea Linn. var. *acuminata*
 DC.
 Dhuna Ham.
Mangifera indica Linn.
 sylvatica Roxb.
Tapiria hirsuta Hook. f.
Semecarpus Anacardium Linn. f.
Spondias axillaris Roxb.

CORIARIACEAE

- Coriaria nepalensis* Wall.

LEGUMINOSAE

- Piptanthus nepalensis* D. Don
Priotropis evtisoides W. & A.
Crotalaria prostrata Roxb.
 ferruginea Grah.
 acicularis Ham.
 alata Ham.
 albida Heyne
 calycina Schrank
 sessiliflora Linn.
 sericea Retz
 tetragona Roxb.
 medicaginea Lamk.
 linifolia Linn. f.
Trifolium repens Linn.
Parachetus communis Ham.
Trigonella emodi Benth.
Lotus corniculatus Linn.
Indigofera linifolia Retz
 cylindracea Wall.
 hirsuta Linn.
 bracteata Grah.
 pulehella Roxb.
 atropurpurea Ham.
 Dosna Ham.
 trifoliata Linn.
Millettia auriculata Baker
Caragana crassicaulis Benth.
Astragalus Donianus DC.
 vicioides Grah.
 stipulatus D. Don
 pyncnorhizus Wall.
 tenuicaulis Benth.
 sikkimensis Benth.
 xiphocarpus Benth.
Geissopsis cristata W. & A.
Lespedeza macrostyla Baker
 sericea Miq.
Alhagi maurorum Desv.
Stracheya tibetica Benth.
Uria lagopus DC.
 lagopoides DC.
 hamosa Wall.
Alysicarpus rugosus DC.
Desmodium confertum DC.
 Cephalotes Wall.
 latifolium DC.

- Desmodium parvifolium* DC.
gyroides DC.
floribundum G. Don
polycarpum DC.
tiliaefolium G. Don
dioicum DC.
podocarpum DC. var. *lascum* J. G. Baker
oxyphyllum DC. var. *serriferum* J. G. Baker
Abrus precatorius Linn.
pulchellus Wall.
Vicia hirsuta Koch.
Shuteria ferruginea Baker
vestita DC.
vestita DC. var. *involucrata* J. G. Baker
vestita DC. var. *densiflora* J. G. Baker
Dumasia villosa DC.
Mucuna prurita Hook.
macrocarpa Wall.
Apios carnea Benth.
Erythrina arborescens Roxb
Cochlianthus gracilis Benth
Butea frondosa Roxb
minor Ham.
Pueraria phaseoloides Benth
peduncularis Grah.
Wallichii DC.
Phaseolus velutinus Grah.
Vigna pilosa Baker
Dolichos frutescens Buch.-Ham.
Atylosia mollis Benth.
elongata Benth.
Flemingia congesta Roxb. var. *semialata* J. G. Baker
Dalbergia Sissoo Roxb.
tamarindifolia Roxb.
cuneifolia Benth
volubilis Roxb.
Pongamia glabra Vent.
Derris scandens Benth.
Sophora mollis Grah.
Ormosia glauca Wall.
Mezoncurum cucullatum W. & A.
Cassia fistula Linn.
Cassia occidentalis Linn.
Sophora Linn.
Tora Linn.
mimosoides Linn. .
laevigata Willd
Bauhinia malabarica Roxb.
purpurea Linn.
Entada scandens Benth.
Mimosa pudica Linn.
rubricaulis Lam.
Acacia concinna DC.
pennata Willd.
pennata Willd. var. *arrophula* D Don
Albizzia lucida Benth.
- ROSACEAE
- Prunus Puddum* Roxb.
rufa Wall.
undulatum Ham.
acuminata Wall.
Prinsepia utilis Royle
Spiraea canescens D. Don
bella Sims
Aruncus Linn.
vaccinifolia D. Don
Neillia thyrsiflora D Don
rubiflora D. Don
Rubus acuminatus Sm.
moluccanus Linn.
paniculatus Sm.
ferox Wall.
lanatus Wall.
niveus Wall.
niveus Wall. var. *pedunculatus* Hook. f.
ellipticus Sm.
foliolosus D. Don
rosaefolius Sm.
lasiocarpus Sm. var. *micranthus* Hook. f.
calycinus Wall.
hibiscifolius Focke
Geum elatum Wall. var. *humile* Royle
Fragaria indica Andr.
Potentilla nepalensis Hook.
fulgens Wall.

ROSACEAE—*continued*

- Potentilla peduncularis* D. Don
micropetala D. Don
microphylla D. Don
coriandrifolia D. Don
argyrophylla Wall.
argyrophylla Wall. var. *atrosanguinea* Hook. f.
eriocarpa Wall.
leuconota D. Don
Agrimonia Eupatorium Linn.
Poterium diandrum Wall.
Rosa involucrata Roxb.
macrophylla Lindl.
sericea Lindl.
moschata Mill.
Cydonia vulgaris Pers.
Eriobotrya dubia Dcne.
elliptica Lindl.
Pyrus Pashia Ham.
crenata D. Don
lanata D. Don
Wallichii Hook. f.
Photinia integrifolia Lindl.
Stranvaesia glaucescens Lindl.
Crataegus crenulata Roxb.
Cotoneaster frigida Wall.
bacillaris Wall.
rotundifolia Wall.

SAXIFRAGACEAE

- Astilbe rivularis* Ham.
Saxifraga ligulata Wall.
brachypoda D. Don
ramulosa Wall.
hispidula D. Don
pallida Wall.
diversifolia Wall.
cordigera Hook. f. & T.
corymbosa Hook. f. & T.
strigosa Wall.
Tiarella polyphylla D. Don
Chrysosplenium nepalense D. Don
Hydrangea aspera D. Don
vestita Wall.
anomala D. Don

- Dichroa febrifuga* Lour.
Deutzia staminea Br.
Ribes Takare D. Don

CRASSULACEAE

- Bryophyllum calycinum* Salisb.
Kalanchoe spathulata DC.
Sedum himalense D. Don
asiaticum DC.
bupleuroides Wall.
coriaceum Wall.

DROSERACEAE

- Drosera peltata* Sm
Burmanni Vahl.

HAMAMELIDACEAE

- Bucklandia populnea* Br.

COMBRETACEAE

- Terminalia Chebula* Retz
tomentosa Bedd.
Anogeissus latifolia Wall.
Combretum naumum Ham.
decandrum Roxb.
Wallichii DC.
squamosum Roxb.

MYRTACEAE

- Eugenia Jambolana* Lam
frondosa Wall.
areolata DC.

MELASTOMACEAE

- Osbeckia chinensis* Linn.
nepalensis Hook.
rostrata D. Don
crinita Benth.
stellata Wall.
Melastoma malabathricum Linn.
normale D. Don
Oxyspora paniculata DC.
Sonerila squarrosa Wall.
maculata Roxb.
Sarcopyramis nepalensis Wall.

LYTHRACEAE

- Amnania pentandra* Roxb.
rotundifolia Ham.
Woodfordia floribunda Salisb.
Lagerstroemia parviflora Roxb.
Duabanga sonneratioides Ham.

ONAGRACEAE

- Epilobium tetragonum* Linn.
roseum Schreb. var. *cylindricum*
 D. Don
Jussiaea repens Linn.

SAMYDACEAE

- Homalium nepalense* Benth.

PASSIFLORACEAE

- Passiflora nepalensis* Wall.

CUCURBITACEAE

- Bryonia laciniosa* Linn.
Zehneria umbellata Thwaites
Mukia scabrella Ham.
Gynostemma pedata Blume

BEGONIACEAE

- Begonia gigantea* Wall.
laciniata Roxb.
Hatacoa Buch.-Ham.
picta Sm.
laciniata Roxb.
scutata Wall.
amoena Wall.
Roxburghii A.DC.
megaptera A.DC.
Wallichiana A.DC.

DATISCEAE

- Datisca cannabina* Linn.

CACTACEAE

- Opuntia monacantha* Haw.

UMBELLIFERAE

- Hydrocotyle javanica* Thunb.
rotundifolia Roxb.

- Sanicula europaea* Linn.
Vicatia conifolia DC.
Trachydium obtusiusculum C. B.
 Clarke
Bupleurum tenue D. Don
lanceolatum Wall.
Carum anethifolium Benth.
diversifolium C. B. Clarke
Pimpinella diversifolia DC.
Wallichii C. B. Clarke
bella C. B. Clarke
Oenanthe stolonifera Wall.
linearis Wall.
Ligusticum nepalense D. Don
Selinum striatum Benth.
Candollii DC.
Cortia Lindleyi DC.
Pleurospermum stellatum Benth.
rotundatum Benth.
Benthani C. B. Clarke
angelicoides Benth.
pumilum Benth.
Brunonis Benth.
Peucedanum glaucum DC.
Heracleum nepalense D. Don
Wallichii DC.
obtusifolium Wall.
Caucalis anthriscus Scop.
Sison trinerve Buch.-Ham.
Athamantha gigantea D. Don
teres D. Don

ARALIACEAE

- Aralia Pseudo-ginseng* Benth.
Pentapanax Leschenaultii Seem var.
umbellatum Seem.
parasiticum Seem.
Heptapleurum elatum C. B. Clarke
impressum C. B. Clarke
Trevesia palmata Vis.
Heteropanax fragrans Seem.
Brassaiopsis Hainla Seem.
palmata Kurz
aculeata Seem.
speciosa Dcne. & Planch.
Macropanax oreophilum Miq.
Hedera Helix Linn.

CORNACEAE

- Cornus oblonga* Wall.
capitata Wall.
macrophylla Wall.
 **Toricellia tiliacfolia* DC.

CAPRIFOLIACEAE

- Sambucus adnata* Wall. -
Viburnum stellulatum Wall.
punctatum Ham.
coriaceum Blume
nervosum D. Don
cotinifolium D. Don
Triosteum hirsutum Wall.
Lonicera ligustrina Wall.
macrantha DC.
glabrata Wall.
acuminata Wall.

RUBIACEAE

- Anthocephalus Cadamba* Miq.
Adina cordifolia Hook. f.
Stephegyne parvifolia Korth.
Hymenopogon parasiticus Wall.
Hymenodictyon excelsum Wall.
flaccidum Wall.
Luculia gratissima Sw
Wendlandia exserta DC.
coriacea DC.
pendula DC.
puberula DC.
Oldenlandia scandens Roxb.
 • *auricularia* K. Schum
corymbosa Linn.
gracilis DC.
lineata Roxb.
Anotis ingrata Wall.
gracilis Hook. f.
Wightiana Wall.
Ophiorhiza fasciculata D. Don
Harrisiana Heyne
Harrisiana Heyne var. *rugosa* Wall.
Mussaenda Roxburghii Hook. f.
macrophylla Wall.
glabra Vahl
incana Wall.
frondosa Linn

- Adenosacme stipulata* Hook. f.
Randia tetrasperma Roxb.
dumetorum Lamk.
triflora Buch.-Ham.
fasciculata DC.

- Hyptianthera stricta* W. & A.
Knoxia corymbosa Willd.
Exora undulata Roxb.
Psychotria denticulata Wall.
erratica Hook. f.
erratica Hook. f. var. *pedunculata*
 Hook. f.
calocarpa Kurz
Wallichiana DC.

- Paederia foetida* Linn.
Hamiltonia suaveolens Roxb.
Leptodermis lanceolata Wall.
Spermacoce stricta Linn.
 **Rubia cordifolia* Linn.
angustissima Wall.
 **Galium rotundifolium* Linn.
Aparine Linn.
mollugo Linn.
hirtiflorum Req.
vestitum D. Don

VALERIANACEAE

- Nardostachys jatamansi* DC.
Valeriana Hardwickii Wall.

DIPSACEAE

- Morina nepalensis* D. Don
polyphylla Wall.
Dipsacus strictus D. Don
inermis Wall.

COMPOSITAE

- Vernonia teres* Wall.
subsessilis DC.
subsessilis DC var. *bracteolata*
 Hook. f.
subsessilis DC. var. *macrophylla*
 Hook. f.
cinerea Less.
saligna DC.
anthelmintica Willd.
Roxburghii Less.

- Vernonia extensa* DC.
Elephantopus scaber Linn.
Adenostemma Lavenia O.Kze.
Ageratum conyzoides Linn.
Eupatorium Reevesii Wall.
 acuminatum D. Don
Solidago Virga-aurea Linn. var. *pubescens* Clarke
 Virga-aurea Linn. var. *leiocarpa* Benth.
Dichrocephala latifolia DC.
Cyathocline lyrata Cass.
Myriactis nepalensis Less.
 Wallichii Less.
Aster trinervius Roxb.
 sikkimensis Hook f.
 Thomsoni Clarke
Erigeron bellidioides Benth.
 asteroides Roxb.
 multiradiatus Benth.
 monticolus DC.
 alpinus Linn. var. *multicaulis* Hook. f.
Conyza japonica Less.
 stricta Willd.
Thespis divaricata DC.
Blumea Wightiana DC.
 subcapitata DC.
 hieracifolia DC.
 oxyodonta DC.
 obovata DC.
 balsamifera DC.
 procera DC.
Laggera alata Schultz-Bip
 flava Benth.
 pterodonta Benth.
Anaphalis triplinervis C. B. Clarke
 Griffithii Hook. f.
 cinnamomea C. B. Clarke
 adnata DC.
 araneosa DC.
 contorta Hook. f.
 cuneifolia Hook. f.
Gnaphalium luteo-album Linn.
Caesulia axillaris Roxb.
Inula Cappa DC.
 grandiflora Willd.
- Vicoa auriculata* Cass.
Siegesbeckia orientalis Linn.
Eclipta alba Hassk.
Spilanthes Acmella Linn.
Bidens pilosa Linn.
 tripartita Linn.
Cosmos sulfureus Cav.
Glossogyne pinnatifida DC.
Chrysanthellum indicum DC.
Galinsoga parviflora Cav.
Artemisia parviflora Roxb.
 vulgaris Linn.
 mollissima D. Don
 leptophylla D. Don
 carnifolia Ham.
Cremanthodium reniforme Benth.
 oblongatum Clarke
Gynura angulosa DC.
 nepalensis DC.
Emilia sonchifolia DC.
Senecio chrysanthemoides DC.
 diversifolius Wall.
 scandens D. Don
 Mortoni Clarke
 Buimalia D. Don
 retusus Wall.
 triligulata Ham.
 arnicoides Wall.
 nudicaulis Ham.
 tetranthus DC.
 densiflorus Wall.
 Wallichii DC.
 vagans Wall.
 acuminatus Wall.
 triligulatus Ham.
Carduus pumilis D. Don
Cnicus argyranthus DC.
 Wallichii DC var. *nepalensis* Hook. f.
Saussurea eriostemon Wall.
 uniflora Wall.
 candicans Clarke
 affinis Spreng.
 gossipiphora D. Don
 albescens Hook. f. & T.
Leucomeris spectabilis D. Don
Ainsliaca pteropoda DC.

COMPOSITAE *continued*

Ainsliaea aptera DC.
Gerbera macrophylla Benth.
 piloselloides Cass.
 nivea Benth.
Picris hieracioides Linn.
Crepis porrifolia D. Don
Taraxacum officinale Wigg. var. *eripoda* Hook. f.
Lactuca hastata DC.
 longifolia DC
 dissecta D. Don
 graciliflora DC.
 Dubyaea Clarke
 rapunculoides Clarke
 sagittarioides Clarke
 gracilis DC.
Sonchus oleraceus Linn.
 arvensis Linn.
Launaea nudicaulis Less.
Tragopogon gracile D. Don
Scorzonera bupleuroides D. Don
Tagetes patula Linn.

CAMPANULACEAE

Pratia begoniifolia Lindl.
 montana Hassk.
Lobelia trigona Roxb.
 radicans Thunb.
 pyramidalis Wall.
 trialata Ham.
Wahlenbergia gracilis DC.
 ovata D. Don
Codonopsis thalictrifolia Wall.
 viridis Wall.
 purpurea Wall.
 subsimplex Hook. f. & T.
Cyananthus Hookeri C. B. Clarke
Campanumaea inflata C. B. Clarke
Campanula sylvatica Wall.
 colorata Wall.
 cana Wall.
 fulgens Wall.

ERICACEAE

Gaultheria fragrantissima Wall.
 nummularioides D. Don

Cassiope fastigiata D. Don
Pieris ovalifolia D. Don
 ovalifolia D. Don var. *lanceolata* Clarke
 formosa D. Don
 villosa Hook. f.
Enkianthus himalaicus Hook. f. & T.
Rhododendron arboreum Sm.
 Hodgsoni Hook. f.
 setosum D. Don
 Falconeri Hook. f.
 anthopogon D. Don
 fulgens Hook. f.
 campanulatum D. Don
 Wightii Hook. f.
 campylocarpum Hook. f.
 Thomsoni Hook. f.
 camelliaeflorum Hook. f.

MONOTROPACEAE

* *Monotropa uniflora* Linn.

PLUMBAGINACEAE

Plumbago zeylanica Linn.

PRIMULACEAE

Primula petiolaris Wall.
 reticulata Wall.
 rotundifolia Wall.
 elliptica Royle
 Stuartii Wall.
 Stuartii Wall. var. *purpurea* Hook. f.
 floribunda Wall.
 pusilla Wall.
Androsace saxifragaeifolia Bunge
 sarmentosa Wall.
 sarmentosa Wall. var. *Watkinsi* Hook. f.
 rotundifolia Hardwicke
 cordifolia Wall.
 Lehmanni Wall.
Lysimachia japonica Thunb.
 alternifolia Wall.
 pyramidalis Wall.
 lobelioides Wall.
 cavalvis Wall.
Anagallis arvensis Linn.
Centunculus tenellus Duby

MYRSINACEAE

- Maesa ramentacea* A. DC.
argentea Wall.
macrophylla Wall.
Chisia D. Don
Myrsine africana Linn.
semiserata Wall.
semiserata Wall. var. *subspinosa*
 D. Don
capitellata Wall.
Embelia Nagushia D. Don
esculenta D. Don
Ribes Burm.
robusta Roxb.
floribunda Wall.
vestita Roxb.
Ardisia neriifolia Wall.
humilis Vahl
macrocarpa Wall.

SAPOTACEAE

- Bassia butyracea* Roxb.

STYRACEAE

- Symplocos spicata* Roxb.
theaeifolia Ham.
Sumuntia Ham.
crataegoides Ham.
dryophila Clarke
pyrifolia Wall.

OLEACEAE

- Jasminum pubescens* Willd.
humile Linn.
glandulosum Wall.
dispermum Wall.
heterophyllum Roxb.
pubigerum D. Don
grandiflorum Linn.
Nyctanthes Arbor-tristis Linn.
Fraxinus floribunda Wall.
Olea glandulifera Wall.
Ligustrum nepalense Wall.
nepalense Wall. var. *vestita* Wall.
Notelaea Posua D. Don

APOCYNACEAE

- Alstonia neriifolia* D. Don
Tabernaemontana coronaria R. Br.
Vallaris Heynei Spreng.
Nerium odorum Soland
Beaumontia grandiflora Wall.
Trachelospermum fragrans Hook. f.
Ichnocarpus frutescens R. Br.

ASCLEPIADACEAE

- Calotropis procera* R. Br.
Cynanchum glaucum Wall.
Gongronema nepalense Dene
Marsdenia Calesiana Wight
Tylophora fasciculata Ham.
Belostemma Benth.
Heterostemma Wallichii Wight
alatum Wight
Dischidia benghalensis Coleb.
Hoya lanceolata Wall.
linearis Wall.
Arnottiana Wight
Ceropegia Wallichii Wight
longifolia Wall.
pubescens Wall.

LOGANIACEAE

- Mitrasacme polymorpha* Br.
Buddleia asiatica Lour.
paniculata Wall.

GENTIANACEAE

- Exacum teres* Wall.
tetragonum Roxb.
Sebaea Khasiana C. B. Clarke
Canscora decussata Roem. & Sch.
Crawfordia fasciculata Wall.
speciosa Wall.
Japonica Sieb. & Zucc. var. *luteo-*
viridis Clarke
Gentiana depressa D. Don
tubiflora Wall.
decemfida Ham.
ornata Wall.
capitata Ham.
pedicellata Wall.

GENTIANACEAE—continued

- Swertia paniculata* Wall.
dilatata C. B. Clarke
nervosa Wall. *
angustifolia Ham.
angustifolia Ham. var. *Wallichii*
 Burkill
Chirata Ham.
multicaulis D. Don

HYDROPHYLLACEAE

- Hydrolea zeylanica* Vahl

BORAGINACEAE

- Ehretia acuminata* Br.
macrophylla Wall.
laevis Roxb.
Heliotropium strigosum Willd. var.
brevifolia C. B. Clarke
Trichodesma indicum R.Br.
Cynoglossum furcatum Wall.
lanceolatum Forsk.
Bothriospermum tenellum Fisch. &
 Mey.
Trigonotis multicaules Benth.
ovalifolia Benth.
Myosotis robusta D. Don
Oenothera bracteatum Wall.
bicolor Wall.
Emodi Wall.
Wallichianum Benth.

CONVOLVULACEAE

- Rivea ornata* Choisy
Argyria Hookeri C. B. Clarke
Roxburghii Choisy
Lettsonia setosa Roxb.
atropurpurea C. B. Clarke
Ipomoea Bona-nox Linn.
uniflora Roem. & Sch.
hederacea Jacq.
cuspidata D. Don
Calystegia hederacea Wall.
Evolvulus alsinoides Linn
Porana racemosa Roxb
grandiflora Wall.
paniculata Roxb
Cuscuta reflexa Roxb.

SOLANACEAE

- Solanum vernaseifolium* Linn.
indicum Linn.
xanthocarpum Schrad. & Wendl.
macrodon Wall.
crassipetalum Wall.
Physalis peruviana Linn.
minima Linn.
Nicandra physaloides Gaertn.
Datura Stramonium Linn.
fastuosa Linn.
Scopolia lurida Dunal

SCROPHULARIACEAE

- Verbascum Thapsus* Linn.
Scrophularia pauciflora Benth.
urticaefolia Benth.
elatior Benth.
Wightia gigantea Wall.
Mimulus nepalensis Benth.
Mazus rugosus Lour.
dentatus Wall.
succulosus D. Don
Lindenbergia grandiflora Benth.
philippensis Benth.
urticaefolia Lehman.
Stemodia urticaefolia Lehman.
Linnophila conferta Benth.
sessiliflora Blume
hypericifolia Benth.
Moniera cuneifolia Michx.
Torenia vagans Roxb.
peduncularis Benth.
Vandellia crustacea Benth.
pedunculata Benth.
angustifolia Benth.
nummularifolia D. Don
Ilysanthes reptans Urban.
Hemiphragma heterophyllum Wall.
Scoparia dulcis Linn.
Calorhabdos Brunonian Benth.
Veronica himalensis D. Don
deltigera Wall.
Anagallis Linn.
Anagallis Linn. var. *punctata*
 Hook. f.

Buchnera hispida Ham
cruciata Ham.
Striga euphrasiodes Benth
Masuria Benth.
Centranthera hispida Br.
Sopubia trifida Ham.
Euphrasia officinalis Linn.
Pedicularis megalantha D. Don
mollis Wall.
brevifolia D. Don
trichoglossa Hook. f.
siphonantha D. Don
macrantha Klotz.
aspleniifolia Fl.
furfuracea Wall.

OROBANCHACEAE

Aeginetia indica Roxb.
Orobanche cernua Locfl.

LENTIBULARIACEAE

Utricularia bifida Linn.
orbiculata Wall.
flexuosa Valil
capillaris D. Don
racemosa Wall. var. *flicaulis* Clarke
squamosa Benj.
obtusiloba Benj.

GESNERACEAE

Aeschynanthus ramosissima Wall
maculata Lindl.
Lysionatus serrata D. Don
Didymocarpus macrophylla Wall.
cinerea D. Don
aurantiaca Clarke
villosa D. Don
leucocalyx Clarke
oblonga Wall
subalternans Wall.
aromatica Wall.
Chirita urticaefolia Ham.
pumila D. Don
bifolia D. Don
macrophylla Wall.
Kurzii Clarke

Platystemma violoides Wall.
Rhynchosglossum obliqua Blume var.
parviflora Clarke
Epithema carnosum Benth.

BIGNONIACEAE

Oroxylum indicum Vent
Stereospermum suaveolens DC
Amplicomme Emodi Lindl.

PEDALIACEAE

Martynia diandra Glox

ACANTHACEAE

Thunbergia fragrans Roxb.
coccinea Wall.
Hygrophila polysperma T. Anders.
Echinacanthus attenuatus Nees
longistylis Clarke
Daedalacanthus nervosus T. Anders.
Hemigraphis latebrosa Nees
Aechmananthera Wallichii Nees
toментosa Nees
Strobilanthes nutans T. Anders.
tamburensis Clarke
lamiifolius T. Anders
quadrangularis Clarke
Sabinianus Nees
divaricatus T. Anders.
glutinosus Grah.
Wallichii Nees
capitatus T. Anders.
atropurpureus Nees
pentstemonoides T. Anders.
Barleria cristata Linn.
Asystasia macrocarpa Nees
Lepidagathis hvalina Nees
incurva Buch. Ham.
Justicia simplex D. Don
Adhatoda vasica Nees
Rungia parviflora Nees
Dicliptera Roxburghiana Nees
bupleuroides Nees
Peristrophe bicalyculata Nees
Hypoestes triflora Roem. & Sch.

VERBENACEAE

Phytolacca leptostachya Linn.
Verbena officinalis Linn.
Callicarpa macrophylla Vahl
 lobata Clarke
 vestita Wall.
Gmelina arborea Linn.
Vitex trifolia Linn. f.
Clerodendron serratum Spreng
 infortunatum Gaertn.
 Siphonanthus R.Br.
Holmskioldia sanguinea Retz
Caryopteris grata Benth.
 paniculata Clarke
 Wallichiana Sch.

LABIATAE

Ocimum gratissimum Linn.
Geniospermum strobiliferum Wall.
Orthosiphon rubicundus Benth.
 scapiger Benth.
 incurvus Benth.
Plectranthus Gerardianus Benth.
 Gerardianus Benth. var. *graciliflorus* Hook. f.
 striatus Benth.
 repens Wall.
 ternifolius D. Don
 Coetsa Ham.
 incanus Link.
Coleus barbatus Benth.
Anisochilus polystachyus Benth.
Pogostemon glaber Benth.
 plectranthoides Desf.
 tuberculosis Benth.
Dysophylla cruciata Benth.
 quadrifolia Benth.
 crassicaulis Benth. var. *pumila* Hook. f.
Colebrookia oppositifolia Sm.
Elsholtzia strobilifera Benth.
 flava Benth.
 blanda Benth.
 cristata Willd
 polystachya Benth.
 incisa Benth.

Perilla ocymoides Linn.
Mosla dianthera Maxim
Mentha arvensis Linn.
Origanum vulgare Linn.
Micromeria biflora Benth.
Calamintha umbrosa Benth.
 longicaulis Benth.
Melissa flava Benth.
Salvia lanata Roxb.
Nepeta ruderalis Ham.
 nepalensis Spreng.
 spicata Benth
Scutellaria discolor Coleb.
 angulosa Benth.
 repens Ham.
 rivularis Wall.
Brunella vulgaris Linn.
Craniotome versicolor Reichb.
Anisomeles ovata R.Br.
Colquhounia coccinea Wall.
Stachys sericea Wall.
Lamium amplexicaule Linn.
Roylea elegans Wall.
Leucas lanata Benth.
 mollissima Wall.
 mollissima Wall. var. *angustifolia* Hook. f.
 ciliata Benth.
 Cephalotes Spreng.
 hyssopifolia Benth.
 lineifolia Spreng.
Leonotis nepetaefolia R.Br.
Phlomis macrophylla Wall.
 breviflora Benth.
Notochaete hamosa Benth.
Eriophyton Wallichianum Benth.
Gomphostemma parviflorum Wall.
 ovatum Wall.
Leucosceptrum canum Sm.
Teucrium quadrifarium Ham.
 laxum D. Don
Ajuga lobata D. Don
 bracteosa Wall.
 integrifolia Buch.-Ham.
 macrospema Wall. var. *breviflora* Hook. f.

PLANTAGINACEAE

Plantago major Linn.
lanceolata Linn.

NYCTAGINACEAE

Boerhaavia repens Linn.

AMARANTACEAE

Decringia celosioides R.Br.
Celosia argentea Linn.
extipulata Hornem.
Aniarranthus spinosus Linn.
paniculatus Linn.
Cyathula tomentosa Moq.
capitata Moq.
Pupalia atropurpurea Moq.
Achyranthes aspera Linn.
aquatica Br.
Alternanthera sessilis R.Br.

CHENOPODIACEAE

Chenopodium album Linn.
opulifolium Schrad.
ambrosioides Linn.
murale Linn.

POLYGONACEAE

Polygonum tomentosum Willd.
glabrum Willd.
barbatum Linn.
Hydropiper Linn.
flaccidum Meissn.
flaccidum Meissn. var. *hispida*
 Hook. f.
capitatum Ham.
chinense Linn.
mite Schrank.
amplexicaule D. Don
humile Meissn.
Wallichii Meissn.
affine D. Don
viviparum Linn.
sphaerostachyum Meissn.
viscosum Ham.
Posumbu Ham.
tortuosum D. Don

Polygonum plebejum Br.
plebejum Br. var. *elegans* Hook f.
molle D. Don
alatum Ham.
alatum Ham. var. *nepalense*
 Hook. f.
microcephalum D. Don
campanulatum Hook. f.
runcinatum Ham.
runcifolium Royle
strigosum Br.
perfoliatum Linn.
filicaule Wall.
muricatum Meissn.
microcephalum Don
sphaerocephalum Wall.
cymosum Meissn.
paniculatum Blume
esculentum Moench.
serrulatum Lag. var. *Donii* Hook. f.
Rheum Emodi Wall.
Webbianum Royle.
Rumex hastatus D. Don
nepalensis Spreng.

ARISTOLOCHIACEAE

Aristolochia indica Linn.
platanifolia Duc.
saccata Wall.

PIPERACEAE

Houttuynia cordata Thunb.
Piper nepalense Miq.
pepuloides Roxb.
Suipiqua Ham.
brachystachyum Wall.
aurantiacum Wall
saxatile Wall.
nepalense Miq.
Peperomia reflexa Dietr.

LAURACEAE

Cryptocarya amygdalina Nees
Beilschmiedia sikkimensis King
Grammieana King
Cinnamomum Tamala Fr. Nees
caudatum Nees

LAURACEAE *continued*

- Cinnamomum* pyrifolium D. Don
 obtusifolium Nees
 glanduliferum Meissn.
Machilus sericea Blume
Phoebe paniculata Nees
Litsea oblouga Wall.
 sericea Wall.
 lanuginosa Nees
 elongata Wall.
 umbrosa Nees
 umbrosa Nees var. *consimilis*
 Hook. f.
 salicifolia Roxb.
 chartacea Wall.
Dodecadeuia grandiflora Nees
Lindera melastomacea Benth.
 bifaria Benth.
 Neesiana Benth.
Laurus umbellata Ham.

THYMELAEACEAE

- Daphne* cannabina Wall.
Edgeworthia Gardneri Meissn.
Wikstroemia canescens Meissn.

ELAEAGNACEAE

- Elaeagnus* latifolia Linn.
 umbellata Thunb.
Hippophae salicifolia D. Don

LORANTHACEAE

- Loranthus* odoratus Wall.
 Scurrula Linn.
 longiflorus Desr.
 umbellifer Schultz
 vestitus Wall.
 ligustrinus Wall.
 cordifolius Wall.
 pentapetalus Roxb.
 globosus Roxb.
Viscum monoicum Roxb.
 articulatum Burm.
 articulatum Burm. var. *dichotoma*
 Kurz.
 album Linn.

SANTALACEAE

- Pyralia* edulis A. DC.
Osyris arborea Wall.
Henslowia heterantha Hook. f. & T.

BALANOPHORACEAE

- Balanophora* dioica Br.
Rhopalocnemis phalloides Jnugh.

EUPHORBACEAE

- Euphorbia* pilulifera Linn.
 nerifolia Linn.
 Tirucalli Linn.
 pilosa Linn.
 tenuis Buch.-Ham.
 fusiformis Buch.-Ham.
 prolifera Buch.-Ham.
 angustifolia Buch.-Ham.
 longifolia D. Don
 Wallichii Hook. f.
 Stracheyi Boiss.
Sarcococca pruniformis Lindl.
Bridelia retusa Spreng.
 pubescens Kurz.
Andrachne cordifolia Muell. Arg.
Phyllanthus lembica Linn.
 glaucus Wall.
 Urinaria Linn.
 parvifolius Ham.
Glochidion lanceolatum Dalz.
 acuminatum Muell.-Arg.
Embllica officinalis Gaertn.
Breynia patens Benth.
Sauropus compressus Muell.-Arg.
Antidesma diandrum Roth.
 Bunius Spreng.
Jatropha Curcas Linn.
Acalypha brachystachya Horn.
Alchornea mollis Muell.-Arg.
Mallotus philippensis Muell.-Arg.
 nepalensis Muell.-Arg.
Baliospermum corymbiferum Hook. f.
Excaecaria acrifolia F. Didr.

URTICACEAE

- Ulmus* Wallichiana Planch.
Celtis australis Linn.

Trema orientalis Blume.
Streblus asper Lour.
Ficus religiosa Linn.
 Cunia Ham.
 glomerata Roxb.
 pyriformis Hook. & Arn. var.
 subpyriformis Miq.
 laevis Blume
 scandens Roxb.
 altissima Blume
Urtica parviflora Roxb.
Girardinia heterophylla Dcne.
Pilea anisophylla Wedd.
 Wightii Wedd.
 scripta Wedd.
 bracteosa Wedd.
Lecanthus Wightii Wedd.
Elatostema rupestre Wedd.
 ficoides Wedd.
 lineolata Wight
 sessile Forst. var. *polycephala*
 Hook. f.
 sesquifolium Hassk.
 surculosum Wight
 surculosum Wight var. *ciliata*
 Hook. f.
Boehmeria rugulosa Wedd.
 platyphylla D. Don
 platyphylla D. Don var. *rotundi-*
 folia Wedd.
 platyphylla D. Don var. *canescens*
 Wedd.
 platyphylla D. Don var. *macro-*
 stachya Wedd.
 sidaefolia Wedd.
 Hamiltoniana Wedd.
 macrophylla D. Don
 polystachya Wedd.
 cuspidata Bl.
Pouzolzia viminea Wedd.
 indica Gaud. var. *alienata* Wedd.
Debregeasia hypoleuca Wedd.
Maoutia Puya Wedd.

JUGLANDACEAE

Engelhardtia spicata Blume
 Colebrookiana Lindl.

MYRICACEAE

Myrica Nagi Thunb.
 octandra Buch.-Ham.

CUPULIFERAE

Betula alnoides Ham.
 utilis D. Don
Alnus nepalensis D. Don
Quercus semecarpifolia Sm.
 serrata Thunb.
 lanuginosa D. Don
 glauca Thunb.
 spicata Sm.
 incana Roxb.
 lamellosa Sm.
 lineata Blume
Castanopsis tribuloides A.DC.
 indica A.DC.
Corylus ferox Wall.
Carpinus viminea Wall.

SALICACEAE

Salix tetrasperma Roxb.
 tetrasperma Roxb. var. *nobilis*
 Anders.
 elegans Wall.
 criostachya Wall.

CERATOPHYLLACEAE

Ceratophyllum demersum Linn.

CONIFERAE

Cupressus torulosa D. Don
 funbris Endl.
Juniperus recurva Ham.
 recurva Ham. var. *squamata* Parlat.
 macropoda Boiss.
Taxus baccata Linn.
Podocarpus neriifolia D. Don
Pinus excelsa Wall.
 longifolia Roxb.
Tsuga Brunoniana Carr.
Larix Griffithii Hook. f. & T.
Abies Webbiana Lindl.

CYCADACEAE

Cycas pectinata Griff.

MONOCOTYLEDONS

HYDROCHARITACEAE

Hydrilla verticillata Casp.

BURMANNIACEAE

Burmattia disticha Linn.
coelestis D. Don
nepalensis Hook. f.

ORCHIDACEAE

Oberonia iridifolia Lindl.
ensifolia Lindl.
caulescens Lindl.
myosurus Lindl.
Microstylis musciferac Ridl.
congesta Reichb.
Wallichii Lindl.
Wallichii Lindl. var. *biloba* Hook. f.
Liparis nepalensis Lindl.
Grossula Reichb. f.
nervosa Lindl.
olivacea Lindl.
bituberculata Lindl.
Dendrobium floribundum D. Don
moschatum Sw.
denudans D. Don
parviflorum D. Don
alpestre Royle
chrysanthum Wall.
densiflorum Wall.
Farneri Paxt.
amplum Lindl.
Pierardi Roxb.
caudatum Wall.
fimbriatum Hook. f.
longicornu Lindl.
formosum Roxb.
Bulbophyllum odoratissimum Lindl.
caudatum Lindl.
reptans Lindl.
affine Lindl.
leopardinum Lindl.
polyrhizum Lindl.
cylindraceum Lindl.
Careyanum Hook
hirtum Lindl.

Ione bicolor Lindl.
scariosa King. & Pant.
Cirropetalum Wallichii Lindl.
brevipes Hook. f.
guttulatum Hook. f.
maculosum Lindl.
Monomeria barbata Lindl.
Panisea parviflora Lindl.
Eria convallarioides Lindl.
musciicola Lindl.
stricta Lindl.
carinata Giles
excavata Lindl.
confusa Hook. f.
Spathoglottis ixioidea Lindl.
Acanthophippium striatum Lindl.
Plajus flavus Lindl.
Anthogonium gracile Lindl.
Ceratostylis himalaica Hook. f.
Cryptochilus sanguineus Wall.
Coelogyne elata Lindl.
cristata Lindl.
appendiculatum D. Don
longifolium D. Don
praecox Lindl.
humilis D. Don
flavida Wall.
fuscescens Lindl.
flaccida Lindl.
ovalis Lindl.
prolifera Lindl.
uniflora Lindl.
maculata Lindl.
ochracea Lindl.
Otochilus fuscus Lindl.
albus Lindl.
porrectus Lindl.
Pholidota imbricata Lindl.
recurva Lindl.
Calanthe brevicorum Lindl.
biloba Lindl.
massuca Lindl.
tricarinata Lindl.
Arundina graminifolia Schltr.
Eulophia campestris Wall.

Eulophia bicallosa Hook. f.
explanata Lindl.
nuda Lindl.
flava Hook. f.
Cymbidium giganteum Wall.
lanceifolium Hook.
grandiflorum Griff.
elegans Lindl.
eburneum Lindl.
aloifolium Swartz.
Cremast. Wallichiana Lindl.
Geodorum purpureum R.Br.
pallidum Wall.
Esmeralda Cathcartii Reichb. f.
Doritis taenialis Benth.
Rhynchostylis retusa Blume
Sarcochilus usneoides Reichb.
Aerides longicorum Hook. f.
odoratum Lour.
multiflorum Roxb.
Vanda parviflora Lindl.
alpina Lindl.
Ascocentrum ampullaceum Schltr.
Saccolabium dasypogon Lindl.
intermedium Gult.
calceolare Lindl.
Acampe papillosa Lindl.
Sarcanthus racemifer Reichb. f.
Podochilus cultratus Lindl.
Anoechilus Roxburghii Lindl.
Herpysma longicaulis Lindl.
Spiranthes australis Lindl.
Listera Lindleyana King & Pant.
Zeuxine abbreviata Benth.
sulcata Lindl.
flava Benth.
Goodyera procera Hook.
biflora Hook. f.
Epipogon nutans Reichb. f.
Cephalanthera xiphophyllum Reichb.
f.
Epipactis latifolia Sw.
consimilis Wall.
gigantea Donl.
Orchis latifolia Linn.
habenarioides King & Pant.
Chusna D. Don

Hermirium congestum Lindl.
angustifolium Benth.
gramineum Lindl.
Habenaria geniculata D. Don
goodyerioides D. Don
arietina Hook. f.
intermedia D. Don
longifolia Ham.
triflora D. Don
latilabris Hook. f.
galeandra Benth.
Wightii Trim.
affinis Wight
reniformis Hook. f.
galeandra Benth.
Hamiltoniana Hook. f.
Plantanthera Susannae Lindl.
Diplomeris pulchella D. Don
hirsuta Lindl.
Hemipilia cordifolia Lindl.
Satyrium nepalense D. Don
Cypripedium cordigerum D. Don
Apostasia Wallichii R.Br.

SCITAMINACEAE

Globba Hookeri Clarke
Roscoca capitata Smith
Curcuma angustifolia Roxb.
Hedychium spicatum Ham.
spicatum Ham. var. *trilobum* Wall.
densiflorum Wall.
villosum Wall.
Gardnerianum Rosc.
auranticum Wall.
Amomum aromaticum Roxb.
Costus speciosus Sm.
speciosus Sm. var. *nipalensis* Rosc.
Canna indica Linn. var. *nepalensis* Wall.
indica Linn. var. *speciosa* Rosc.
Musa nepalensis Wall.

HAEMODORACEAE

Aletris nepalensis Hook. f.
Ophiopogon intermedius D. Don
Liriope spicata Lour.

IRIDACEAE

- Iris nepalensis* D. Don
Pardanthus chinensis Ker.

AMARYLLIDACEAE

- Hypoxis aurea* Lour.
Curculigo recurvata Dryand.
gracilis Wall.
Crinum amoenum Roxb.
Agave Vera-Cruz Mill.
Wightii Diurn & Prain

DIOSCOREACEAE

- Dioscorea daemona* Roxb.
pentaphylla Linn.
anguina Roxb.
glabra Roxb.
bulbifera Linn.
belophylla Voigt.
sikkimensis Prain & Burkhill

LILIACEAE

- Smilax rigida* Wall.
parvifolia Wall.
elegans Wall.
prolifera Roxb.
ferox Wall.
aspera Linn.
Asparagus racemosus Roxb.
filicinus Ham.
nepalensis Baker
Curillus Ham.
Polygonatum oppositifolium Royle
punctatum Royle
verticillatum Allioni
cirrifolium Royle
Smilacina fusca Wall.
Streptopus simplex D. Don
Tupistra aurantiaca Wall.
Hemerocallis fulva Linn.
Chlorophytum undulatum Wall.
Dianella ensifolia Redonte
Allium ascalonicum Linn.
blandum Wall.
odorum Linn.
Lilium Wallichianum Schulz.
nepalense D. Don

- Lilium giganteum* Wall.
roseum Wall.
Fritillaria oxypetala Royle
cirrrosa Hook. f.
stracheyi Hook. f.
Gardneriana Wall.
Iphigenia indicum Kunth
Gloriosa superba Linn.
Tricyrtis pilosa Wall.
Disporum calcaratum D. Don
pullum Salisb.
Paris polyphylla Sm.

PONTEDERIACEAE

- Monochoria hastata* Presl.

XYRIDACEAE

- Xyris schoenoides* Mart.
pauciflora Willd.

COMMELINACEAE

- Polia Aclisia* Hassk.
Commelina obliqua Ham.
suffruticosa Blume
Ancilema nudiflorum Br.
scaberrimum Kunth
Cyanotis barbata D. Don
Ploscopa scandens Lour.

JUNCACEAE

- Juncus concinnus* D. Don
glaucus Ehrh.

PALMACEAE

- Phoenix sylvestris* Roxb.
humilis Royle
Trachycarpus Martiana H. Wendl
Calamus acanthospathus Griff.

PANDANACEAE

- Pandanus furcatus* Roxb. var. *indica*
 Kurz.

ARACEAE

- Arisaema nepenthoides* Mart.
speciosum Mart.
costatum Mart.

Arisaema crubescens Schott
echinatum Schott
Sauromatum guttatum Schott
Typhonium diversifolium Wall.
Thomsonia nepalensis Wall.
Ariopsis peltata Nimmo
Remusatia viviparum Schott
Gonatanthus sarmentosus Klot.
Colocasia Antiquorum Schott var.
 typica Engl.
Raphidophora glauca Schott
Lasia heterophylla Schott
Pothos scandens Linn.
Acorus Calamus Linn.

LEMNACEAE

Lemna sp.

ALISMACEAE

Alisma reniforme D. Don
Sagittaria guayanensis Humb.
 sagittifolia Linn.
Butomopsis lancololata Kunth

NAIADACEAE

Potamogeton indicus Roxb.
 oblongus Viv.
 crispus Linn.

ERIOCAULACEAE

Eriocaulon nepalense Prescott
 xeranthemum Mart.
 luzulaefolium Mart.
 oryzatorum Mart.
 truxcatum Ham.

CYPERACEAE

Kyllingia triceps Rottb
 brevifolia Rottb.
Pycnus angulatus Nees
Cyperus flavidus Retz
 tuberosus Rottb.
 radiatus Vahl
 auricomus Seiber.
 pumilus Linn.
 setifolius D. Don
 trisulcus D. Don
 filicina Nees var. *meiogyne* Stachey

Cyperus pilosus Vahl
 Wallichianus Spreng.
 Zollingeri Steud.
 dilutus Vahl
Eleocharis congesta D. Don
 fistulosa Link.
Fimbristylis dichotoma Vahl
 stolonifera C. B. Clarke
 diphylla Vahl
 tetragona Br.
 globulosa Kunth
 fusca Benth.
Stenophyllus barbata Rottb.
Bulbostylis capillaris Kunth var. *trifida* Kunth
Scirpus quadrangulus D. Don
 mucronatus Linn.
Lipocarpia sphacelata Kunth
Rhynchospora Wallichiana Kunth
 glauca Vahl
Eriophorum comosum Wall.
Scleria tessellata Willd.
Kobresia trinervis Boeck.
 fissiglumis C. B. Clarke
Carex hymenolepis Nees
 filicina Nees
 nubigena D. Don
 muricata Linn. var. *foliosa* D. Don
 brunnea Thunb.
 longipes D. Don
 longipes D. Don var. *nepalensis*
 Boott
 setigera D. Don
 japonica Thunb.
 japonica Thunb. var. *alopeuroides*
 D. Don
 phacota Spreng.
 longicruris Nees
 Prescottiana Boott
 linearis Boott var. *elachista* C. B.
 Clarke
 cruciata Vahl var. *argocarpus* C. B.
 Clarke
 continua C. B. Clarke
 stramentita Boott
 insignis Boott
 pulchra Boott

CYPERACEAE—continued

- Carex speciosa* Kunth
acutiformis Ehrh.
ligulata Nees
hebecarpa C. A. Mayer
hebecarpa C. A. Mayer var. *lachnosperma* Nees

GRAMINEAE

- Panicum flavidum* Retz.
colonum Linn.
prostratum Lamk.
indicum Linn.
indicum Linn. var. *gracile* Hook. f.
myosuroides R.Br.
khasianum Munro
uncinatum Raddi
Thysanolaena acarifera Nees
Oplismenus compositus Beauv.
Arundinella brasiliensis Raddi
setosa Trin.
Setaria glauca Beauv.
Forbesiana Hook. f.
Leersia hexandra Sw.
Coix lachryma-Jobi Linn.
Dimeria ornithopoda Trin.
fuscescens Trin.
Pollinia articulata Trin.
vagans Nees
imberbis Nees
argentea Trin.
Saccharum spontaneum Linn.
Narenga Ham.
Erianthus fulvus Nees
longisetosus Anders.
Ischaemum angustifolium Hack.
ciliare Retz
petiolare Hack.
Pogonatherum polystachyum Kunth
Arthraxon submuticus Hochst.
Andropogon assimilis Steud.
pumilus Roxb.

- Andropogon monticola* Schult.
contortus Linn.
microtheca Hook. f.
fascicularis Roxb.
intermedius Willd.
acicularis Willd.
melanocarpus Elliot
distans Nees
Cymbopogon Martini Stapf
Anthistiria gigantea Cav.
laxa Anders.
ciliata Linn. f.
imberbis Retz var. *Roylei* Hook. f.
Phalaris minor Retz
Hierochloa Hookeri Clarke
Sporobolus piliferus Kunth
Calamagrostis pilosula Hook. f. var.
Wallichiana Hook. f.
Coelachne pulchella Br.
pulchella Br. var. *spicata* Hook. f.
Avena aspera Munro var. *Roylei* Hook. f.
Microchloa setacea Br.
Cynodon dactylon Pers.
Chloris incompleta Roth.
Eleusine coracana Gaertn.
Arundo Donax Linn.
Phragmites Karka Trin.
Koeleria cristata Pers.
Catabrosa Wallichii Hook. f.
Eragrostis amabilis W. & A.
stenophylla Hochst.
nardioides Trin.
Poa pseudo-pratensis Hook. f.
annua Linn. var. *nepalensis* Griseb.
Festuca polycolia Stapf
Bromus himalaicus Stapf
Arundinaria racemosa Munro
falcata Nees
spathifolia Trin.
Dendrocalamus strictus Nees
Bambusa ?

FILICES

- Trichomanes striatum* D. Don
radicans Sw.
Hymenophyllum tenellum D. Don
australe Willd.
Cyathea spinulosa Clarke
Brunoniana Clarke
Diacalpe aspidioides Bl.
Peranema cyathoides D. Don
Acrophorus stipellatus Moore
Dryopteris aridum O. Ktze.
crinipes O. Ktze.
fili subsp. *palentissima* C. Chr.
fili-*mas* Linn. var. *parallelogramma*
Hook.
crenata O. Ktze.
penangiana C. Chr.
opaca C. Chr.
prolixa O. Ktze.
brunnea C. Chr.
hirtipes Moore
ochthodes Moore
gracilescens Moore
spinulosa Pr. var. *remota* A. Br.
sparsa Moore var. *nitidula* Wall.
Hendersoni C. Chr.
angustifrons Moore
Polystichum auriculatum Pr.
auriculatum Pr. var. *lentum* D. Don
obliquum Moore
ilicifolium Moore
lentum Moore
lobatum C. Chr.
aristatum Pr.
aristatum Pr. var. *mucronatum*
C. Chr.
aristatum Pr. var. *cornu-cervi* C.
Chr.
speciosum C. Chr.
Hookerianum C. Chr.
amabilis Bl.
Oleandra Wallichii Pr.
neriiformis Cav.
Nephrodium cochleatum D. Don
sparsum Desv.
Nephrolepis cordifolia D. Don
Nephrolepis tuberosa Presl.
Davallia truncata D. Don
pulchra D. Don
bullata Wall.
multidentata Bedd.
pseudo-cystopteris Bedd.
Microlepia marginata C. Chr.
platyphylla J. Sm.
hirta Pr.
spelunca Moore
strigosa Pr.
Odontosoria chinensis Sm.
Dennstaedtia appendiculata J. Sm.
Monachosorum subdigitatum Kuhn
Lindsaya cultrata Sw.
Athyrium distans Moore
nigripes Moore
nigripes Moore var. *Clarkei* Bedd.
fili-*femina* Roth var. *dentigera*
Wall.
imbriatum Moore var. *foliosa* Wall.
umbrosum Bedd. var. *multicauda-*
tum Wall.
Diplazium lobulosum Pr.
japonicum Bedd.
maximum C. Chr.
Stolczkac Bedd. var. *hirsutipes*
Bedd.
lanceum Pr.
heterophlebium Diels
Diplaziopsis javanica C. Chr.
Asplenium nidus L. var. *phyllitidis*
C. Chr.
normale D. Don
recurvatum D. Don
laciniatum D. Don
bulbiferum Forst.
tenuifolium D. Don
praemorsum Sw.
unilaterale Linn.
cheilosorum Ktze.
Woodwardia radicans Sm.
Coniogramme fraxineum Diels
Hemionites plantaginea
Pellaea Tamburii Hook

Gymnopteris vestita Und.
costata Wall.
Cheilanthes rufa D. Don
farinosa Kaulf.
farinosa Kaulf. var. *dealbata* C. Chr.
Onychium japonicum Ktz.
siliculosum C. Chr.
Plagiogyra pycnophylla Mett.
euphlebia Mett.
Adiantum lunulatum Burm.
venustum D. Don
caudatum Linn.
caudatum Linn. var. *Edgeworthii*
 Bedd.
Capillus-Veneris Linn.
flabellulatum Linn.
Pteris longifolia Linn.
biaurita Linn.
cretica Linn.
longipes D. Don
aquilina Linn.
pellucida Pr. var. *stenophylla* Bedd.
Vittaria vittarioides C. Chr.
Antrophyum coriacea Wall.
Drymoglossum carnosum J. Sm.
Polypodium lineare Thunb.
subamoenum Clarke
Atkinsoni C. Chr.
normalis D. Don
hermionitideum Wall.
membranaceum D. Don
hastatum Thunb.
hastatum Thunb. var. *majus* Hook.
hastatum Thunb. var. *trifidum*
 C. Chr.
euryphyllum C. Chr.
Donianum Spr.

Polypodium himalayense Hook.
ellipticum Thunb.
pedunculatum Mett.
scolopendrinum C. Chr.
acuminatum Roxb.
vulgare Linn.
aureum Linn.
leiorhizum Wall.
Wallichianum Spr.
coronans Wall.
simplex Sw.
Drynaria coronans Sm.
Elaphoglossum conforme Schott
petiolatum Urban
Ceratopteris thalictroides Linn.
Gleichenia linearis Clarke
dichotoma Wall.
longissima Blume
glauca Hook.
Ophioglossum vulgatum Linn.

LYCOPODINEAE

Lycopodium selaceum Ham.
Hamiltonii Spr
serratum Thunb.
cernuum Linn.
Selaginella fulcrata Spr.
pennatum Spr.
tenerum Spr.
bryopteris Bak.
Equisetum diffusum D. Don
debile Roxb.
Marsilea quadrifoliata Linn

CHARACEAE

Chara polyclades D. Don



LONDON : CHARLES WHITTINGHAM AND GRIGGS (PRINTERS), LTD.
CHITSWICK PRESS, TOOKS COURT, CHANCERY LANE.

